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THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AND WORK

Gus Oki and Mary Morton

Project Director: P. J. Giffen
Editor: S. Lambert

Project 52
Substudy 1-11 & 24 & Mo & 16-69

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Alcoholism and Drug Addiction
Research Foundation,
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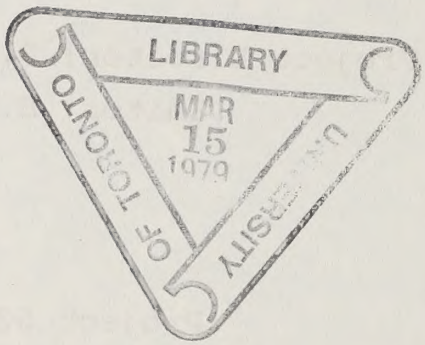

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CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AND WORK

The economic history of the Skid Row chronic drunkenness offender can be presented analytically in terms of a three-phase cycle. The first phase covers that period when his economic role is being established and when he is being prepared to perform that role. This includes both the non-deliberate, informal experiences encountered in the home, community and society, and the formal education and vocational training. From this essentially consuming and non-productive stage the future Skid Row C.D.O. enters a period where he performs productive economic functions. The third and final stage completes the cycle with the Skid Row C.D.O. again becoming an essentially consuming and non-productive person.

This three-part process, descriptive of the economic history of this particular group, can of course be applied to virtually all members of our society. The only consistent exceptions are those classified as mentally or physically incapable and incompetent. Thus, in the broad terms of this scheme, the Skid Row C.D.O. is not different from anyone else. However, within each stage there are clear and evident differences in both kind and degree.

For example, the "productive" period of the chronic drunkenness offender is marked by instability and relative briefness. The Skid Row C.D.O.'s mean age is 45, which signifies that when he should be at the peak of his productivity he is, in fact, non-productive. At the same time, this means that he enters the third stage of dependent existence much earlier than most males in our society. In fact, the second and third stages of the Skid Row C.D.O.'s economic history manifest a number and variety of differences which will be the focus of this chapter. In addition, attention will be directed to the initial stage of the cycle and even though the data are somewhat limited and subject to the limitations of recall procedures, there is at least speculative justification for examining this background for any possible etiological findings.

In examining the economic history of the chronic drunkenness offenders, we must first focus on the socio-economic factors in the backgrounds of these men during their non-productive and formative years when their economic potential was structured and the foundation laid for their future employment and earning career.

By defining our sample as chronic drunkenness offenders, we have set our focus within the larger framework of mental and public health "problems" as well as of socio-legal deviance. To the extent that the C.D.O. phenomenon is a psycho-social manifestation of alcoholism, there is some relevance to mental illness and the sociological literature on the subject. Several writers have considered the relationship between socio-economic factors and various orders of mental illness and their treatment. Among the more notable of these studies are Hollingshead and Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (38), Myers and Roberts, Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness (64), Gibbs and Martin, Theory of Status Integration and Its Relationship to Suicide (32), Powell, Occupation, Status and Suicide (78), and Srole, Mental Health in the Metropolis (91). Much of the research in this field is tempered by the methodological biases introduced through the sampling procedures, as some of the authors themselves have pointed out (Lemert (49) and Blane (11)). There is an intimate relationship between the findings of socio-economic class differences in diagnoses and rehabilitation prognoses for various mental illnesses (38), and the differential visibility of social classes and attendant vulnerability to arrest and incarceration for acts legally defined as "anti-social", such as public drunkenness. Generally, however, the studies relating mental illness and social class have been conducted much more rigorously than the specific research in the field of alcoholism where in many cases the authors have underestimated the influence of sampling factors in determining their findings. Giffen's article (33) on the biases inherent in criminal statistics draws our attention to the difficulties involved in obtaining an accurate picture of the socio-legal aspects of drunkenness as well.

These methodological limitations, combined with the likelihood that there are various kinds of problem drinking differentially associated with various social groupings, results in there being little agreement as to the specific relationship between social class and

alcoholism. For example, Dunham (27), Pittman and Gordon (72), Straus (94), Ullman et al (108), Porterfield (77) and Rubington (85), found a correlation between lower socio-economic class and alcoholism, while the McCords (60) found that the middle and lower middle categories have significantly more alcoholics. On the other hand, Riley and Marden (80) found that the higher socio-economic levels display excessive drinking, while Dollard (25), in his theoretical paper, maintains that both the lower and the upper classes are adjusted to drinking and that, on this basis, the middle classes produce the most problem drinkers.

Even acknowledging the important factors of sampling bias, and social and legal evaluations of drinking habits, there would appear to be substantial evidence to suggest that some association does exist between social class and problem drinking. However, whether this relationship is linear, as most authors conclude, or curvilinear, as is suggested by Dollard (25) and Powell (78), or multidimensional, in as much as other potentially causal factors have not been effectively controlled, (Jellinek (44)), has not yet been sufficiently established to warrant any definitive conclusions about the socio-economic roots of alcoholism. It is quite possible, however, that to a considerable extent, a common etiology obtains for both low economic achievement and "deviant" use of alcohol.

Looking at the issue from a very general and theoretical perspective, we could interpret the relationship between low socio-economic class and problem drinking, as does Robert Merton (62), as a "retreatist" response to the social structural pressures created by disjunction between the commonly agreed upon goals for economic success and inadequate personal means of achievement.

A recent study by Jessor et al (46) of deviant alcohol use in a tri-ethnic community in the United States attempts to relate public drunkenness to the relative degree of objective access to high status positions in the community, extent of normative consensus regarding drinking behaviour, and prevalence of appropriate role models and control structures for each of the ethnic groups concerned. It was the conclusion of the authors that problem drinking is more likely to occur for persons and groups who experience few objective legitimate means to accomplishment and who perceive their

situation as depriving. However, which form of deviance will be adopted is problematic as Jessor and his colleagues point out. This draws to our attention the importance of the availability of illegitimate means and deviant role models as well. Their interpretation of chronic drunkenness as deriving from the interaction between the sociological and social psychological factors of opportunities, norms and controls in the immediate environment is similar to the one we will employ in the present chapter.

Other research of a more general nature supports the association between social class position and "retreatism", (3, 48, 74). For example, Liston Pope (7) suggests that extreme periods of economic depression dramatically illustrate one correlate of unemployment, namely a decrease in social participation, and that this behaviour is differentially related to social class. Sutherland and Locke (100) also make reference to the relationship between social class and social participation in their study of homeless men undertaken during the Great Depression. In a rather rigorous and extensive attempt, Kohn (48) argues that fundamental differences exist in the dynamics of the parent-child relationships as between the middle and the working classes and that these differences are manifested in and related to economic behaviour patterns in each class. Similarly, Bahr (6) found that in his investigation of New York Skid Row populations, the men with the lowest mean occupational status were the least likely to have strong affiliative ties, such as marriage.

Hochwald (37) refers to unique or differentiating characteristics of alcoholic men in the area of employment and occupational careers. She contends that these men can adequately visualize occupational goals but are unable to attain them, and that, consequently, they prefer work entailing creativity, independence, public contact, excitement and movement, and that they display marked employment instability due to restlessness and inebriety.

As hazy as the relationship between socio-economic factors and drinking behaviour may be, we can reasonably conclude that, in our modern industrialized society, a man's occupation and economic activity are integral to his way of life. Hence the family background features and personal formative experiences which contribute to the establishment of a man's occupational status will be critical to the pattern of a career which leads to his "ending up" on Skid Row.

The present research has several major limitations which should be plainly noted, since they are integral to the conclusions and explanations we have drawn.

First, our study lacks a consistent control population. Instead, at various junctures, comparisons have been made with the general adult male population of Canada, a clinic alcoholic sample, and other groups of 'problem' drinkers and homeless men reported in the literature. We have undoubtedly introduced an important bias in favour of the lower socio-economic classes by selecting our sample from a population of problem drinkers who have run afoul of the law. These may be more vulnerable to arrest for public intoxication as Giffen's (33) article on the role that "vested interests" may play in intervening between the commission of an act and its appearance as a criminal statistic suggests. Moreover, many of the data are based on retrospective reports, both the respondents' selective reconstruction of "objective" events and the subjective interpretation of selected "significant" influences contributing to the accomplished fact of chronic drunkenness. In reconstructing the economic histories of the C.D.O. after they have ceased to be steadily employed, we have built into the profile the apparent inevitability of downward mobility for these men. Of course, since we find internal differences within the sample group in rates of downward mobility, we have some basis for differentiating factors contributing to this decline, but since we begin with the fact that such decline has occurred, there is the distinct tendency to interpret the events of the C.D.O.'s work career as contingency points or stepping stones to unemployment and economic instability. In spite of these limitations, however, there may be much of both descriptive and analytical character worth discussing in the economic careers of the chronic drunkenness offenders. If we accept that problem drinking is at least in part a psycho-social phenomenon, the C.D.O.'s own reconstruction of his past history may well provide us with insight into the genesis and development of his present situation and his own definition of his way of life.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In examining the economic career of the chronic drunkenness offender, it is important to consider the economic situation from which he was launched, since, as Merton (62) has suggested, this setting would effectively structure the opportunities for his subsequent economic advancement. However, as John Porter's (76) study of Canadian social structure points out, Canada is very much a federal society from the sociological point of view, since regional differences decidedly cross-cut social class differences. Or, to put it another way, there is no single class hierarchy in Canada, but rather a "vertical mosaic", since people from various parts of Canada tend to "hang together" on a regional basis which very often supercedes the class basis. Consequently, the understanding of the socio-economic background of any sample of Canadians would be incomplete if it ignored the existence, for instance, of the Maritimes as a relevant socio-cultural category.

There is, of course, a distinct tendency for regional and class factors to coincide in some areas, particularly the economic, since certain regions such as the Maritimes are also less prosperous than the powerful urban centres such as Toronto. In very gross terms, then, from the vantage point of Toronto which is where our study was carried out, persons from the more "disadvantaged" regions of Canada seem to have many of the same socio-economic characteristics as the lower status groups of the city itself.

TABLE IX - 1

BIRTHPLACE OF C.D.O.s

Country or Region	Number	%
Canada	181	79.3
British Isles	28	12.3
U.S.A.	6	2.6
Eastern Europe	6	2.6
Western Europe	5	2.2
Scandinavia	2	0.9
Total	228	99.9

Looking first at the community of orientation of the chronic drunkenness offenders (Table IX - 1) we find that

79.3 per cent of the sample were born in Canada and an additional 12.3 per cent in the British Isles. These findings suggest that in gross terms the early community experiences of the C.D.O.s did not differ markedly from those of the larger Canadian population, especially those descending from the major ethnic groups of Canada. Immigration then, does not appear to be a major feature of the background of the C.D.O.s. Indeed, an examination of the birthplaces of the fathers of the C.D.O.s (Table IX - 2) suggests that their families are, for the most part, firmly entrenched in the Canadian way of life, for 56.5 per cent of the fathers were born in Canada, while an additional 28.9 per cent were born in the British Isles.

TABLE IX - 2

FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE

Country or Region	Number	%
Canada	129	56.6
British Isles	66	28.9
U.S.A.	9	3.9
Eastern Europe	6	2.6
Western Europe	7	3.1
Scandinavia	3	1.3
Other	2	0.9
N.A.	6	2.6
Total	228	99.9

Since such a large proportion of the chronic drunkenness offenders sampled are native born, in-migration, i.e. migration within Canada seems to be a significant variable in the economic careers of the C.D.O.s (Table - 3). Only 18.9 per cent of the C.D.O.s were born in Toronto; 32.9 per cent have moved to Toronto from elsewhere in Ontario and 19.3 per cent have migrated from the Maritime Provinces.

TABLE IX - 3

SUBJECT'S BIRTHPLACE - REGION OF CANADA

Region of Canada	Number	%
Ontario (Other than Toronto)	75	32.9
Ontario (Toronto only)	43	18.9
Maritime Provinces	44	19.3
Quebec	12	5.3
Western Provinces	6	2.6
N.A. (Foreign Born)	48	21.1
Total	228	100.1

The size of the community in which the chronic drunkenness offender was raised until the age of 16 years is also relevant in terms of the possible disruptive effect of in-migration. (Table IX - 4)

TABLE IX - 4

SIZE OF MAIN COMMUNITY LIVED IN UP TO AGE 16

Community Type	Number		%	
Cities over 100,000	75		32.9	
Toronto		(58)		(25.4)
Other		(17)		(7.5)
Cities 10,000 to 100,000	44		19.3	
Small Towns (under 10,000)	50		21.9	
Rural	52		22.8	
N.A.	7		3.1	
Total	228		100.0	

Looking at the frequency distribution of C.D.O.s according to size of community, we find a bimodal distribution with 32.9 per cent of the men coming from Toronto or another city of population 100,000 or over, only 19.3 per cent coming from smaller cities 10,000 to 100,000 and 44.7 per cent coming from rural areas or communities under 10,000 population. Moreover, C.D.O.s who were born in rural communities are more likely to have had both parents Canadian born ($p < .001$ for mothers and $p < .001$ for fathers), which suggests relatively firm entrenchment in a more traditional

non-urban way of life. Differentiating further within this non-urban group, we established that subjects raised in the Maritimes were more likely to have grown up in small towns (10,000 to 25,000), while those raised in parts of Ontario other than Toronto were more likely to have been raised on farms ($p < .01$).

The socio-economic significance of these findings can be interpreted, for our purposes, in the light of the fact that areas such as rural and small-town Ontario and the Maritime provinces tend to be dominated by primary industries, such as farming and mining, while the urban regions, such as Toronto, are characterized by secondary and tertiary industrialization, i.e. manufacturing and service industries employing advanced technology. We can expect, then, that a man socialized to the economic skills requisite to employment in primary industries would find himself acutely disadvantaged in the urban work setting of Toronto. Moreover, given a drinking problem, the probability of these men being arrested and incarcerated for public intoxication is greater in the city of Toronto, both because, being unprotected by sympathetic and supportive primary ties, the men are more visibly exposed to formal detection, and because law enforcement is often more stringent for such offences in the city than in less urbanized areas, where informal measures to protect and control inebriates are more common.

Family Background

Having examined certain environmental factors of the community of origin which may have structured their opportunities for economic mobility, we now focus on the more immediate family backgrounds of the chronic drunkenness offenders with respect to socio-economic status.

We would argue, as do Jessor and his colleagues (46) that a consideration of the features of the socialization which the individual has received is an essential part of the interpretation of his subsequent behaviour, in as much as these learning experiences mediate between the broad and largely external sociological elements of the environment and the relatively unique dimensions of the individual personality. It is at this point that objective circumstances, such as opportunities for socio-economic achievement, prevailing normative climate and stringency of social control structures may become articulated with the individual's own developing beliefs and perceptions about his life chances through exposure to role models in the surroundings of his first home.

We found that chronic drunkenness offenders whose fathers were born in continental Europe reported a lower family income than those whose fathers were born in Canada ($p < .01$), although there was no significant difference among ethnic groups in the occupational rank of the fathers. On the other hand, we did find that the father's occupational rank showed a strong association with the size of the community in which the C.D.O. was raised, namely, the larger the community, the higher the father's occupational rank ($p < .001$).

It should be recognized that this difference in socio-economic status is attributable in large measure to the predictable over-representation of farmers among the fathers of the subjects originating in rural communities ($p < .001$); this again suggests the importance of rural-to-urban in-migration as a factor in the economic career of the subjects.

Moreover, it appears that the chronic drunkenness offenders in our sample who migrated from non-urban settings tended to come from families which were, in socio-economic terms more "traditional". That is, the less populated the community of orientation, the larger was the family ($p < .01$), with rural families being the largest and families of large urban communities being the smallest. The native-born C.D.O.s, who were more likely to have been raised in smaller communities and rural areas, ($p < .01$) were also more likely to have been members of larger families than were those subjects born outside of Canada ($p < .01$). Moreover, within the native-born group, subjects raised in the Maritimes tended to come from large families while those from Toronto came from small families ($p < .01$).

Consistent with the stereotype of the "traditional" family is the indication that the families of chronic drunkenness offenders who came from non-urban environments were more likely to have operated at an economic level approximating subsistence than were urban families. Table IX - 5 indicates that a total of 30.6 per cent of the C.D.O.s reported that during their childhood, the family was poor and/or on relief. There was a tendency, though not statistically significant, for more C.D.O.s who were raised in rural communities to report low family incomes than those from small towns or large cities. However, subjects from non-urban family backgrounds were more likely to have conceptualized the economic circumstances of their upbringing as "comfortable", especially in the cases where the father was a farmer and when the family raised at least part of its food supply. In fact,

fully 63.5 per cent of the sample evaluated their family situations as "comfortable" and an additional 9.6 per cent stated that they had lived "comfortably" even though they were were sometimes on relief or hungry.

TABLE IX - 5

C.D.O.S' EVALUATIONS OF FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION DURING CHILDHOOD

Family Situation	Number		%	
Very poor or poor	20		8.7	
Relief and/or hungry	50		21.9	
Very poor or poor		(28)		(12.3)
Comfortable		(22)		(9.6)
Comfortable	145		63.5	
Well-to-do	8		3.5	
N.A.	5		2.2	
Total	228		99.8	

The "working mother" may also be used as an index of the "modern", as opposed to the "traditional" family. Our findings shed an interesting light on this interpretation, since two countervailing economic and social forces appear to be operative: on the one hand the economic pressure to supplement the family income and on the other hand the social prohibition, typical of the traditional family, against females assuming instrumental roles outside the family economy. We found, then, that whether the C.D.O.s' mothers worked was inversely related to the occupational rank ($p < .01$) of the fathers, since wives of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers were more likely to have worked than those with husbands in higher occupations.

In addition, the mother of the chronic drunkenness offender was much more likely to have worked if the family income was stated to have been "poor" ($p < .001$), if the family had suffered the loss of the male parent during the C.D.O.'s childhood ($p < .001$), and if the family was large ($p < .001$). But large families and lower status background,

we have noted, were more typical of non-urban communities, which suggests the potentially greater financial need for mothers to work in the rural and small communities. However, despite this apparent economic contingency we found that subjects raised in Toronto were more likely to have had working mothers than those who grew up anywhere else in Canada ($p < .05$). There may be at least two possible interpretations. On the one hand, although in absolute terms those C.D.O.s raised in non-urban families may bave subsisted at lower socio-economic levels than did urban-raised C.D.O.s, in relative terms, the urban-raised C.D.O.s may have perceived their situation as more depriving, both because the mother was more likely to have been working and because the family was more likely to have been on welfare or relief during the subject's childhood.

On the other hand, C.D.O.s coming from families that approximate the norm of the traditional non-urban family of large size and low family income would be more likely to experience greater difficulty in effecting the transition to the urban way of life in which (in Talcott Parsons' terms (68)) particularistic ties are less highly valued. Tilly and Brown (104) have pointed out that, whereas migrants of high occupational rank and social status are more likely to migrate under the auspices of formal organizations - primarily work - low ranking migrants tend to migrate under particularistic auspices, especially kinship. By auspices of migration is meant those social structures which mediate, for the individual migrant, between the community of origin and the community of destination.

In our sample of C.D.O.s, those coming from the Maritimes and from non-urban regions in Ontario, who together make up fully 52.2 per cent of the sample, are for the most part "low-ranking migrants". However, there is no significant indication from our data that the C.D.O.s were in fact drawn to Toronto by kinship ties, although neither had they established firm connection with formal organizations in the city prior to their migration. As Tilly and Brown suggest, then, we would have had some basis on which to predict the likelihood of maladjustment - in this case, chronic arrest and incarceration for drunkenness - among these low status migrants to the city:

> ...migration under the auspices of kinship seems to be most common among groups which have the least skill in dealing with impersonal urban institutions like markets, bureaucracies, and communication systems, or the most uncertain relationships to those institutions...

> ...within the categories particularly inclined to migrate under the auspices of kinship, individuals who do not do so more commonly suffer personal disruption when they move. (104,p.5)

In order to justify our interpretation in terms of the potentially disruptive effects of migration for our sample, we must first establish that the C.D.O.s fall into the category of low-ranking migrants. We have some basis for asserting that, using father's occupation as an index of socio-economic status, our sample is drawn from a relatively low-ranking population. Table IX-6 compares the distribution of occupations of the fathers of the C.D.O.s with the distribution of the adult male population of Canada, controlled for age (lower limits: 35-44)[1]. The two highest ranking categories of occupations, the managerial and the professional levels are significantly under-represented in our sample of fathers, while the "craftsmen" and "unskilled" categories are clearly over-represented. The "clerical and sales" and "service" occupations show no significant differences.

---

[1] The 1951 Census of Canada (26a) was employed here in order to insure comparability to Blishen's (12) ranking of occupation. Earlier censuses (e.g. 1931 or 1941) which might conceivably have afforded a better control for age of the fathers were found to be inadequate for our purposes, both because the occupational categories were not comparable and because of the confounding factors of the Great Depression and World War II during the periods when these surveys were taken.

TABLE IX - 6

OCCUPATION OF C.D.O.S' FATHERS COMPARED WITH OCCUPATION OF THE GENERAL ADULT MALE POPULATION OF CANADA[a]

(Percentage)

Occupation	General Population	C.D.O.S' Fathers	X^2	P
Managers, Owners, etc.	12.6	5.5	8.33	.01
Professional	5.2	.5	9.01	.01
Clerical & Sales	9.6	6.9	1.71	not significant
Craftsmen	33.6	48.6	14.92	.001
Farmers, Loggers, Fishermen, Miners	25.5	17.4	5.79	.02
Service	6.6	7.3	.79	not significant
Unskilled	6.9	13.8	15.00	.001
Total[b] (number)	(2,268,581)	(218)		

x^2=55.93, 6 d.f., $p < .001$

[a] Age controlled: Census of Canada, 1951, Males aged 35 years and over.

[b] "N.A.s" excluded.

The frequency distribution of fathers' occupational ranks, (Table IX - 7) employing Blishen's (12) seven classes based upon combined standard scores for income and years of schooling, indicates that the C.D.O.s' fathers were heavily respresented in the lower three classes. For those fathers on which we have data (N=213), 45.1 per cent had occupations in Class 5, 19.7 per cent in Class 6, and 18.8 per cent in Class 7, for a total of 83.6 per cent in the lower ranks. Though it is difficult to compare these findings with those of other studies of Skid Row populations because the scales for socio-economic status employed differ, we may nevertheless note

that these findings of ours do seem to be consistent with Bahr's (6) recent documentation, using the Dudley Socio-Economic Index (S.E.I.), that two fifths of the New York Skid Row respondents had low status fathers.

TABLE IX - 7

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS USING BLISHEN'S RANKS

Classes of Occupations	Number	Per cent	Per cent (excluding N.A.'s)
1	1	0.4	0.5
2	14	6.1	6.6
3	8	3.5	3.8
4	12	5.3	5.6
5	96	42.1	45.1
6	42	18.4	19.7
7	40	17.5	18.8
N.A.	15	6.6	
Total	228	99.9 (N=228)	100.1(N=213)

Other indices which might be used to estimate the socio-economic status of the chronic drunkenness offenders in our sample are family income and father's education (See Tables IX - 5 and IX - 8). As might be expected, both of these factors correlated significantly with father's occupation. The results then are also somewhat in keeping with the prevalent notion that the lowest socio-economic classes encounter more difficulty in the use of alcohol (17, 25, 27, 36, 64, 75, 84), although the over-representation of "craftsmen" suggests some support for the McCords' (60) conclusion that the middle and lower-middle classes are particularly susceptible.

There is also an interesting suggestion from internal comparisons of our data that, within the sample itself, the lower the socio-economic status of the family of orientation the greater the likelihood that the C.D.O. would have been left to his own resources at an earlier age, which circumstance would have rendered him free to migrate and yet less able to migrate under the auspices of kinship. In the first place, the higher the father's occupation, the later the C.D.O.'s family broke up ($p < .01$). This finding is

undoubtedly closely related to the fact that family income was found to be relatively related to parental compatibility ($p < .01$). Similarly, the higher the father's occupation, the later the C.D.O. himself left home ($p < .01$).

TABLE IX - 8

FATHER'S FORMAL EDUCATION

Amount	Number	%
No Schooling	8	3.5
Facts not know - probably none	9	3.9
Public School Incomplete	16	7.0
Public School Complete	10	4.4
Facts not known - probably public school	56	24.5
High School Incomplete	6	2.5
High School Complete	6	2.5
Facts not known - probably High School	14	6.1
Higher	-	-
Other	5	2.1
N.A.	98	42.9
Total	228	99.9

Looking at this migration from the point of destination, we find, correspondingly, that the younger members in our sample of chronic drunkenness offenders tend to exhibit more acute economic inferiority than do the older C.D.O.s, both in terms of their socio-economic backgrounds and in terms of their present economic skills. The youngest members of the sample tend to have the least education, and the fewest employment skills, and yet very often they have migrated from areas such as the Maritimes for the avowed purpose of finding work. It is conceivable that these youngest migrants to Skid Row do (or did before they ran afoul of the law) constitute the sort of migrant labour force which Anderson (1) spoke of in the Depression and which other more recent observers of Skid Row populations in the United States have declared to be defunct (27).

The significant feature of this labour force, however, is the fact that their preparation for productive employment appears to be especially inadequate or inappropriate to meet urban demands. This brings us to a consideration of the preparation for economic productivity which the C.D.O.s experienced in their own personal backgrounds.

Preparation for Productive Economic Roles

Earlier we distinguished between the socio-economic backgrounds of our subjects with reference to the ideal-types of the modern-urban and the traditional-rural families. Carrying this interpretation still further, we may look at the C.D.O.s' activities preparatory to the assumption of productive economic roles in terms of what Talcott Parsons (68) would call "universalistic-achievement", as contrasted to "particularistic-ascription" expectations.

It will be recalled that the C.D.O.s from non-urban areas were more likely to have had fathers whose occupational ranks were relatively low. It was also found that the higher the father's occupation, the more likely it was that the parents had had definite general ($p < .01$) and specific ($p < .05$) occupational career aspirations for their son. As would be expected, the father's occupational level was directly associated with his educational level ($p < .01$); and correspondingly, the better educated the father was, the more education the son had obtained ($p < .03$), a finding which is similar to that found by Bahr (6) for his 1966 sample of Bowery inhabitants. The sons of parents who had had explicit occupational aspirations for their offspring were much more likely to have gone further in school than those of parents who had had no such aspirations ($p < .001$), and moreover, the higher the aspirations of the parents, the further the C.D.O.s actually went in school ($p < .05$).

On the other hand, subjects coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds, especially the Maritime provinces, were likely to have obtained less education ($p < .05$). Furthermore, the age at which the C.D.O. left home was also related to this educational level ($p < .05$). Looking at the C.D.O. population from the vantage point of the receiving population of the Toronto Skid Row, the youngest of the C.D.O.s at the time of sampling tended to be the least educated segment of the sample ($p < .02$), and within this youngest (current age)

group itself, the less education the C.D.O. had, the earlier he entered the chronic drunkenness pattern ($p \leq .05$).

It is clear that some changes have occurred in the constitution of the C.D.O. population over time, as manifested in the observed trend toward more, younger, C.D.O.s who are less educated than their seniors on Skid Row. In fact, it was found that, in our sample, the middle-aged group were the best educated, the older age group next, and the youngest age group had attained the lowest levels of formal education ($p < .02$). This finding is especially interesting since it runs counter to the expectation, based on the secular trend toward a higher educational achievement in the general Canadian population, that the youngest would be the best educated.

However, these findings do suggest some degree of consistency within families and within regions in commitment to norms of achievement in skills governed by relatively universalistic criteria, namely formal education; although, using father's occupation as an index, socio-economic background does not appear to be related to whether or not the son himself had specific occupational aspirations during his adolescence. This apparent lack of internalization of educational achievement norms may provide some explanation for the C.D.O.s' subsequent economic difficulties.

Of course, it is important to recognize that the realization of the desire for educational accomplishment would undoubtedly have been greatly facilitated by the availability of opportunities to advance, both financial and geographical. It was found, for example, that the level of the father's occupation, and, by extension, the family income, was positively and significantly associated with the subject's education ($p < .001$), and, moreover, that those whose fathers had relatively high-ranking occupations were more likely to have been raised in larger communities and urban areas where there would have been a relatively greater access to facilities for formal education. In contrast, subjects coming from the Maritime provinces were found to have achieved relatively low educational levels.

It is evident that the alternative interpretations in terms of, on the one hand, normative emphasis on "universalistic-achievement" and on the other hand available

opportunity structures for educational advancement are, in fact, complementary if we consider the relevant intervening variable to be the social-psychological one of the actor's perception of his alternatives. Again we are provided a plausible explanation of why subjects raised in urban areas were more likely to have perceived their socio-economic backgrounds as being "depriving", since it is these persons who would have been most likely to visualize a discrepancy between the opportunities they might have expected for their own economic mobility and their own facilities for actual accomplishment. The concept of "relative deprivation", then, is relevant in this context. However, retrospective perception of early "deprivation" was not dominant in the C.D.O. sample taken as a whole, since fully 63.5% reported that the family economic situation had been "comfortable" during their childhood (See Table IX - 5). Perhaps it would be more accurate to suggest that, although the C.D.O.s may not have seen themselves as particularly disadvantaged, neither did they have very substantial perceptions of opportunities for economic achievement or upward mobility.

In fact, a comparison of the educational achievement of the C.D.O. sample with other relevant groupings suggests that their formal preparation for the assumption of productive economic roles may have been rather inferior. Table IX - 9 presents the distribution of the C.D.O. sample according to levels of educational accomplishment, as compared with that of the Canadian general adult male population. The overall differences are highly significant ($p < .001$); namely that the chronic drunkenness offenders have less education generally than the Canadian adult male population as a whole. Moreover, the chronic drunkenness offenders appear to be underrepresented in the categories comprising the completion of elementary school ("elementary: 5 to 8") and the completion of secondary school and beyond ("secondary: 3+" and "university"). The evidence seems to suggest that the C.D.O.s may have been more likely to have been "drop-outs" from formal education, since they were less likely than the general population to have completed the full number of years either at elementary or at the high school levels. Also, fully 42.5% of the sample did not complete their final year of school. However, we did find that the further they went in school, the more likely they were to have finished their grade or year ($p < .001$).

TABLE IX - 9

EDUCATION: C.D.O.S COMPARED WITH GENERAL ADULT MALE POPULATION OF CANADA OVER AGE 20[a] (Percentage)

Education	C.D.O.	General Population	X^2	P
None	2.7	1.7	1.43	not significant
Elementary: 1-4	5.4	9.0	3.07	not significant
Elementary: 5+	55.7	39.3	15.40	.001
Secondary: 1-2	24.0	20.3	1.46	not significant
Secondary: 3+	10.9	21.7	24.70	.001
University	1.4	7.9	11.91	.001
Total	100.1 (N=221)	99.9 (N=5,215,556)		

$X^2 = 57.97$, 5 d.f., $p < .001$

[a] Census of Canada, 1961

Some of the literature on alcoholism suggests that problem drinking in general tends to be associated with low educational achievement. For example, Bailey et al (7) found a low level of education among their sample of non-Skid Row alcoholics, Pittman and Gordon (72) found a low level of educational achievement among the incarcerated alcoholics whom they investigated, and Feeney et al (30) stated that alcoholics tended to be trained below their capacity. Similarly, Bacon (5) found that the group of inebriates he studied was somewhat more poorly educated than the general population but in addition that workhouse inmates exhibited markedly inferior educational skills in comparison with clinic alcoholics, who were decidedly superior to the general population. Ullman (108) also found that the incarcerated problem drinkers he studied tended to be better educated than other inmates of penal institutions but less educated than the general male population. There appears to be a consistency in the educational levels of Skid Row populations as LoCicero et al (51) suggest. Bogue (13) further states that the best educated group on Skid Row is the heavy drinking group, while the teetotalers and light drinkers have the lowest level of education and the moderates and derelicts fall in between. However, he then

draws the conclusion that the abstainer and light drinker are on Skid Row as a result of both economic and psycho-social reasons, while the heavier drinkers are there primarily for the latter reasons.

TABLE IX - 10

EDUCATION: C.D.O.S COMPARED WITH BROOKSIDE CLINIC PATIENTS[a]

(Percentage)

Education	C.D.O.s	Brookside	X^2	p
None	2.7	.3	40.13	.001
Elementary:1 to 4	5.4	2.0	13.13	.001
Elementary: 5+	55.7	30.3	46.80	.001
Secondary: 1 & 2	24.0	30.0	2.56	not significant
Secondary: 3+	10.9	26.9	29.79	.001
University	1.4	10.4	17.35	.001
Total (number)	(221)[b]	(353)[c]		

[a] The Brookside Clinic is operated by the treatment division of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario.

[b] "N.A.s" have been excluded.

[c] This figure represents the male inpatient population for 1961.

Table IX - 10 presents a comparison between the Toronto Skid Row C.D.O. sample and a sample selected from the population of an alcoholic clinic serving essentially the same geographic area[2]. Analysis by the chi-square test of significance shows that the C.D.O.s are significantly over-represented at the "no education" and "elementary only" levels, while they are significantly under-represented at the levels of late secondary school and university ($p < .001$). However, it should also be noted that the Brookside sample is significantly better educated than the general adult male population of Canada, since these men are under-represented in the category of "elementary education or less" and over-represented at the level of "secondary school or higher" ($p < .01$). Consistent with this

[2] The particular group referred to comprised a random sample (one third) of all first admissions to the Clinic, both in-patients and out-patients, over a 3 year period.

finding and with the literature on the educational levels of clinic and hospitalized alcoholics (Lemert (49), Manson (53)) are our findings that the better educated a C.D.O. was, the more likely he was to have undergone treatment for alcoholism ($p < .05$), and the more favorable was his prognosis for rehabilitation ($p < .05$). As Hollingshead and Redlich (38) have pointed out, however, this latter finding may be largely a function of the similarity in communication patterns and expectations as between clinician and their better educated patients.

A recent study of the Bowery (6) which compares the educational level of homeless men on the New York City Skid Row with that found for several other Skid Row and police case inebriate populations finds that Bowery men appear to be slightly better educated than these other groups, since only 31 per cent have had less than 8 years of schooling and an additional 19 per cent have 8 years exactly. The author concludes, however, that this "improvement" may be attributable largely to the time differential between the earlier studies and his more recent investigation, the Bowery men of today having grown up in an era with a greater general level of educational achievement. After having compared the educational level of the Bowery men with that of a control sample of working-class males, Bahr states that the educational composition of Skid Row is about average for the occupational position of its residents, and hence that inferior formal education is <u>not</u> a dominant factor in bringing men onto Skid Row.

Our study provides somewhat contrasting evidence. It too was carried out in the 1960s, and therefore we might expect the men in our sample to have been better educated by virtue of the suggested secular trend. Nevertheless, we found that 63.8 per cent of them had no more than elementary school education and that proportionately fewer men had completed high school or attended university than in the Bowery sample. And secondly, of course, we found that the youngest men in our sample tended to have less, rather than more, education than the middle-aged men, which suggests that the impact of the time differential may not be as simple as Bahr (6) has implied.

However, a comparison of the educational achievements of the men in our sample with comparable alcoholic populations does suggest that the C.D.O.s are significantly better educated than the police case inebriates investigated by Pittman and Gordon (72) ($p < .001$) and the inebriates studied by Bacon (5)

($p < .001$), in that our sample of chronic drunkenness offenders were more likely to have attended secondary school and less likely to have dropped out during or after elementary school than were the other two groups.

One possible explanation of the difference in educational achievement between our sample and those studied by Bacon and Pittman and Gordon lies in the attitude of the subjects toward the school experience. Pittman and Gordon contend that the men in their sample were basically unsuited for the formal education experience. Our findings are substantially different from theirs with respect to school experiences and attitudes, although they, too, suggest that the higher the level of education, the greater the amount and variety of extra-curricular activities the subjects engaged in. Whereas 89 per cent of Pittman and Gordon's group of 126 men reported that they had not participated in school-related activities, we found that 83 per cent of the 220 C.D.O.s questioned on this item had in fact participated, especially in athletic activities. Further, 75.5 per cent of our group reported they had gotten along favourably in group activities at school.

The one item that suggests that the C.D.O.s may not have fitted in to school life as well as they would have us believe was the finding that 88.2 per cent (143 men) had not been averse to leaving school, despite the fact that they may not have completed their grade or year. However, only 12.3 per cent (28 men) stated that they left school because they disliked it and only 1.8 per cent (4 men) had been expelled.

The further advanced they were in their educational career at the time they left school, the more likely the C.D.O.s were to have been unhappy at the prospect of leaving school - ($p < .05$).

The C.D.O.s' intelligence, as measured at the time of the survey, was found to be correlated with the level of education they had attained ($p < .001$).

In addition, the further the C.D.O. had actually gone in the regular school system, the more likely he was to have taken subsequent academic or vocational training - ($p < .01$).

It is interesting that this resumption of education beyond the formal school program often occurred in a custodial institution. However, a total of 23.7 per cent (51 subjects) had undertaken post-school training of some kind.

Often the C.D.O. left school in the first place in order to work. These findings suggest that academic or socio-economic opportunities for continuing education may have been more important in deciding the point at which the C.D.O.'s formal education was terminated than was his social-psychological adjustment to the school environment, since it would not have been especially unusual among the lower classes for boys to leave school before completion. This interpretation accords with that of Bahr, who concludes that the educational accomplishment of most of the Skid Row men he investigated was quite normal for their early circumstances in a lower-class environment.

Interestingly enough, education does not seem to be directly related to the time of entry into the chronic drunkenness pattern, as we found that the "early starters"[3] showed no significant difference from the "late starters" in terms of the amount of education achieved. But this finding is deceptively inconclusive since it is compounded by the strong association between present age and age at onset of downward mobility. Hence, the variable of education seems to be significant primarily in the younger age group, since, as was suggested earlier, in the youngest group the less education the C.D.O. had, the earlier he entered the C.D.O. pattern ($p < .05$). Consistent with this finding is the suggestion that while the father's education was not a particularly significant factor, the subject's own education proved to be relatively important in determining his economic potential for upward mobility. These findings reflect the general trend in our society toward an increasing importance of formal education and "universalistic" criteria for achievement. Given this secular trend, we can then hypothesize that subjects not meeting the educational standard of the general population would encounter greater and earlier difficulty than ever before in achieving employment stability. This, then, provides some explanation for the finding that persons with low education for whom objective legitimate means to success are increasingly limited, seem to be entering the C.D.O. pattern at a younger age.

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[3] The reference here is to classification in an "early-late" typology based on age at onset of heavy drinking, age at first adult arrest for drunkenness, and age at onset of chronic unemployment and downward mobility, relative to the group.

EMPLOYMENT

The first employment experience for most of the C.D.O.s occurred while they were still attending school (116 men or 76 percent of those answering). This pattern is probably not unusual for the lower-than-average socio-economic classes from which the C.D.O.s came. However, only 25.4 per cent (58 men) gave financial reasons for their leaving school, which suggests that in only a relatively small number of cases did a C.D.O. have to go to work during his adolescence. Similarly, only 22.8 per cent (52 men) stated that they left home to seek employment. At the same time there is no clear indication that leaving school and starting to work was associated with any severe psychological or social maladjustments since, on the whole, the C.D.O.s reported a happy adolescence (78% or 171 of 227 respondents), and 54 per cent (111 of 206) stated that they experienced no tension, though the majority (88.2% of 162 respondents) maintained, as we mentioned above, that they were not unhappy at leaving school. Of course, it is difficult to assess to what degree these responses represent a picture of the men's actual adolescence or merely retrospective idealization. In many cases the reason given both for leaving school and for going to work was a desire to be independent, and since the subject's own level of education was comparable to or relative to his father's education, it is possible that the age at which he left school and began working was normative for his family and/or regional background. It is not surprising that there was a highly significant association between the amount of education the C.D.O. had obtained and the age at which he began his first full time job ($p < .001$). We can then consider the point at which the subject leaves school as the taking-off point for his employment career and economic mobility pattern. We would expect, then, that the sooner he began to work, the lower this starting point would be, since employment tends to be contingent upon formal educational skills. In conformity with these expectations were the findings that the longer the training, the higher the starting occupational level, ($p < .001$); and the older the C.D.O. was when he began working, the more money he received for his work ($p < .001$). But we found that the C.D.O.s tended to leave school almost at or near the minimal school leaving age and that they started their first full-time gainful employment at a mean age of 16.4 years, with a median of

15.5 years and a standard deviation of 2.3 years (N=212). Seventy-two of the subjects (32.1%) had started their first full time jobs by the age of 15, while 89 (42%) had left school at the age of 14 and another 53 (25%) had left school at the of 15. This would suggest, then, that nearly all C.D.O.s who began working under the age of 15 did so within one year of leaving school. We have no direct or relevant data from other studies with which to compare our finding that about one-third of the C.D.O.s had begun working full time by the age of 15, but even allowing for the age factor, the suggestion is that the men in our sample tended to start to work earlier than the general population. These findings give us substantial reason to doubt the popular myth that chronic drunks have "always" been "no good bums", since it appears that the men in our sample tended to have become "productive" members of society at an earlier age than might otherwise be expected.

Nevertheless, a negative finding which again is significant for our interpretation of chronic drunkenness in terms of limited means to upward mobility was that there was no significant difference between present age groups as to the age at which the chronic drunkenness offender began full time employment. Because of the general increase in society's evaluation of formal education (as manifested, for example, in the raising of the legitimate school-leaving age) we might reasonably expect that the older men in our sample would have begun working at an earlier age than did the younger ones.

However, though the trend was not highly significant ($.05 < p \leq .10$), we found the tendency in our sample to be in the opposite direction to the expected trend, since the older C.D.O.s tended to start their first full-time jobs at a slightly later age than did the younger C.D.O.s. Similarly, although the difference did not prove to be statistically significant, we found a tendency for the older C.D.O.s to have had a higher level first full-time job. Moreover, there was no significant association between present age and income from first full-time job, although we would expect the younger men to have had higher initial earnings in keeping with the general trend toward higher wages. This secular trend was undoubtedly counteracted in our calculations by the fact that the younger men in our sample tended to start their first full time jobs earlier and at lower levels than did the older C.D.O.s.

Mobility

Having looked at the initial employment experiences of the chronic drunkenness offenders in our sample, let us now examine the subsequent economic careers of the C.D.O.s in terms of occupational mobility. As Parsons (68), Merton (62), and others have suggested, "upward mobility" is the expected pattern in our society where success and achievement are highly valued; that is, each man is expected to rise above his father's occupational level and to be vertically mobile within his own occupational career. Since we selected our sample at a point in the men's careers at which they found themselves at the bottom of the socio-economic scale by reason of chronic arrest and incarceration for drunkenness, the finding that the C.D.O.s had encountered downward mobility is not surprising. The major problem then, becomes one of plotting the course which their economic careers took in order for them to arrive at this point.

Two prevalent, and yet somewhat conflicting popular myths exist about the economic mobility pattern of the Skid Row "bum". On the one hand, there is the idea that the Skid Row population derives essentially from the "dregs" of society and that these men required little additional socialization to adapt to this pattern of association and life style. This assumption is questionable in its most literal form, since, as structural-functional theorists would point out, the Skid Row "society" being an all-male agglomeration, does not acquire new members through endogamous reproduction. The Skid Row society then,relies upon recruitment of its members from outside the group; it is possible, however, that these recruits come from the lowest strata of the larger society. This is the contention of several writers, (13,72, 6), and it is consistent with the Mertonian (62) interpretation of 'retreatism' in terms of low access to the objective means to success.

The other, rather romantic, myth about Skid Row is that it is comprised of "tragic heroes" who, having risen to great heights of success, suddenly, through the forces of fate or personal misfortune - or simply through their dependence in alcohol - have fallen into the depths of disgrace on Skid Row.

Like most myths, these hypotheses about the career of the Skid Row inhabitant contain elements of validity

though perhaps for only the minority of exceptional cases. In actuality the total picture is considerably more complicated, since the sequence of events and background factors which lead to Skid Row appear to be multiple and differentiated for the various segments of this population.

The literature on the employment history of the alcoholic presents a picture of an economically deprived background and deficient occupational training resulting in limited opportunities for advancement and relatively low aspirations for economic success. Interestingly enough, our findings indicated that whether or not the C.D.O. had high aspirations for occupational achievement was a relatively insignificant factor in determining his employment career; that is, the C.D.O. with specific job aspirations was no more likely to have encountered upward mobility than was the man without such aspirations. However, we cannot discount the possibility that in retrospectively recalling the earlier stages of their training and work careers the subjects may have introduced, ex post facto, aspirations for achievement which were not actually present at the earlier point in time. In fact, we found that the aspirations regarding specific occupations were relatively low for the chronic drunkenness offenders in our sample, since these goals did not differ significantly from their first occupations. However, there was the clear suggestion that the C.D.O.s were, in Merton's (62) terms, "conformist" in their orientation toward societal values regarding occupational achievement, since they tended overwhelmingly ($p < .001$) to perceive and rate their "highest occupation" (as measured by Rogoff's (82) scale and Blishen's (12) ranks) as their "best" job. These findings suggest some substantiation for Merton's (62) and Hochwald's (37) claim that alcoholics are able to visualize goals adequately but find themselves unable to obtain them by either legitimate or illegitimate means.

Bahr's (6) recent study of Bowery men employs the Mertonian (62) "anomie" framework to analyse data on aspirations and achievement, and concludes that Skid Row men are more often characterized by low aspirations than by frustrated high aspirations. There is some indication, similar to our findings, that high aspirers in the Bowery sample actually were better educated than men who reported either low aspirations or no aspirations, but at the same time, men who aspired to low status occupational positions were more likely to have achieved their goals than were

men who had had more lofty expectations for success. These findings, like our own, suggest that the individual's perception of his opportunity to achieve may be as important as the more objective means to success which the classical anomie framework takes to be primary.

In the literature on alcoholism, a great deal of attention has been directed to the actual occupational level of different "problem drinking"populations. Some authors, including Jellinek (43), Izakson (40) and Bernsten (9) describe the findings only of the particular population they studied. Those authors who relate their sample to the general population (14, 28, 95, 103, 109) all find that the alcoholics have a higher concentration in the lower levels of the occupational scale. Sariola (87), Bresard (15), and Yamamuro (117) suggest that this phenomenon is not restricted to North America. Other studies (5, 15, 41, 115, 118) comparing different problem drinking populations have reported that there are significant differences in occupational levels between such groups with the more severe or advanced problem drinkers being over-represented in the lower occupations. In both groups of findings, but particularly the latter, it should be noted that the occupational status of the problem drinkers is that which was reported at the time of the study. Since downward economic mobility is typical of the occupational careers of chronic alcoholics, this may be a distorted picture.

In our analysis of the distribution of occupations of the chronic drunkenness offender sample, two classification systems were employed: the Rogoff scale (82) modified version of the occupational scales constructed by Warner, and the Blishen ranks (12). Two procedures were employed for a number of reasons. Firstly, most of the comparative data on other than general population figures were based on American populations and hence involved the Rogoff, or a similar scale based on American data. The Blishen ranks on the other hand are actually derived from Canadian data (26[a]). Secondly, while the Rogoff scale categories are broadly descriptive, the Blishen ranks are more manageable since they utilize a virtually exhaustive and more definitive classified list of individual occupations. Thirdly, the Blishen ranks are manifestly a measure of socio-economic status, since the rankings are based on educational and income levels; also this system consists of a predetermined number of groups, which makes it very easily adaptable for statistical analysis.

Table IX - 12 shows a direct comparison of the distribution of our sample by occupation as calculated by the two scales. Statistical analysis was carried out, and it is evident that marked agreement exists, indicating that the two sets of categories are reasonably comparable and that the coders were consistent in their assignments. ($r = .80$, $p < .001$).

TABLE IX - 11

C.D.O.'S HIGHEST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
(ROGOFF'S SCALE)

Category	Number	%
Professional	2	.9
Semi-professional	1	.4
Managers, proprietors, etc.	12	5.4
Clerical & sales	30	13.4
Skilled	72	32.1
Semi-skilled	46	20.5
Protective Service	2	.9
Other Service	5	2.2
Unskilled[a]	34	15.2
N.A.	20	8.9
Total	224	99.9

[a]"Unskilled" category includes all farm labourers.

TABLE IX - 12

COMPARISON: C.D.O.S' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS,
(EMPLOYING BLISHEN'S CLASSES AND ROGOFF'S STATUSES)

Rogoff Categories	Blishen's Classes							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1. Professional	1	1						2
2. Semi-professional					1			1
3. Proprietors, Managers, etc.		7	1	3	1			12
4. Clerical and Sales		1	2	2	25			30
5. Skilled			4	8	39	21		72
6. Semi-skilled					8	38		46
7. Protective Service					1	1		2
8. Other Service						2	3	5
9. Unskilled[a]						1	33	34
Total[b]	1	9	7	13	75	63	36	204

[a] "Unskilled" category includes all farm labourers
[b] "N.A.s" have been excluded.

($r = +.798$)

Using the Blishen ranks, which are derived from Canadian census data, a comparison was made between the highest ranking occupations achieved during their working lives by the C.D.O. sample and the current occupational distribution of the Canadian adult male population. Table IX - 13, which shows the observed as compared with the expected frequencies, indicates a highly significant difference ($p < .001$), with the C.D.O.s significantly under-represented in the higher class 2 and at the same time significantly over-represented in the lower class 6. When we control for age, however, we find internal differences within the sample group: in the younger age group (21-45 years) the differences were more significant ($p < .01$) than in the older age group (45+ years), ($p < .05$). In the younger group, the C.D.O.s were significantly under-represented in the higher class 2 ($p < .001$) and over-represented in the lower class 6 ($p < .01$). However, in the older group,

TABLE IX - 13

C.D.O.S' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: C.D.O.S COMPARED WITH GENERAL ADULT MALE POPULATION OF CANADA OVER AGE 20[a] USING BLISHEN'S CLASSES

(Percentage)

Class (Blishen)	C.D.O.s	General Population	X^2	P
1	.5	1.3	0.98	not significant
2	4.4	13.2	8.19	.01
3	3.4	4.0	0.18	not significant
4	6.4	5.1	4.36	.05
5	36.8	40.0	0.46	not significant
6	30.9	17.2	21.96	.001
7	17.6	19.4	0.33	not significant
Total (number)	(204)	(3,729,024)		
	$X^2 = 36.46$, 6 d.f., $p < .001$			

[a] Census of Canada, 1951 (the 1951 Census was employed in order to ensure comparability to Blishen's ranks, which were based on these data).

[b] "N.A.s" excluded.

the only significant difference appears in the over-representation of the C.D.O.s in the median class 4 ($p < .05$). There is again the strong indication that the older C.D.O.s are somewhat less different from the general adult male population than are the younger C.D.O.s as was the case with education. The younger group appear to have achieved less in terms of occupational rank than the general adult male population, while for the older group the only statistically significant difference from the general population is an over-representation in the class which is comprised mainly of skilled craftsmen and white collar workers.

However, it might be pointed out in passing that the occupational categories of skilled craftsmen and clerical workers have, in some sense, lost prestige and importance since the implementation of advanced technological means of performing the tasks which were formerly their domain. In this sense, then, these older men in class 2 may be in fact members of a "dispossessed" occupational class and downward mobility may have been inherent in the occupations themselves as they have lost status over time.

When we compare our C.D.O. sample with other selected alcoholic samples taken from the literature, using Rogoff's occupational scale, we find, as Table IX - 14 indicates, that in each case the C.D.O. sample exhibits a significantly greater proportion of men in the categories of skilled labour or higher and, correspondingly, a lesser proportion in those occupational categories ranking below skilled labour. LoCicero *et al* (51) did find that in the Philadelphia Skid Row population, nearly two thirds were trained for occupations at the level of skilled labour or higher, but that as a rule they had not held their longest jobs at this level.

TABLE IX - 14

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS: SELECTED ALCOHOLIC GROUPS

(Percentage)

Occupational Category[a]	Alcoholic Groups			
	Misdemeanants[b]	Homeless Men[c]	Inebriates[d]	C.D.O.[e]
Professional & Semi-Professional	2.0	3.5	3.8	1.5
Managerial	2.8		-	5.9
Clerical & Sales	5.6	9.5	3.8	14.7
Skilled	20.6	53.5	21.2	35.2
Unskilled	29.3		32.7	26.0
Labourers	39.7	33.5	38.5	16.7
Total[f] (number)	(978)	(200)	(52)	(204)

[a] Certain occupational categories have been combined in order to produce comparable classifications

[b] Ullman *et al* (108)

[c] Straus (94)

[d] Kantor (47)

[e] This study

[f] "N.A.s" have been excluded from the calculations

Another comparison was made between the occupational distribution of the chronic drunkenness offenders and that of the Brookside Clinic patients. Table IX - 15 shows that the two sample populations are markedly different, though it should be noted at this juncture that the clinic sample has a higher occupational ranking than the general population. The differences between the two sample populations are not simple linear ones, however, for we find that the C.D.O.s are under-represented in the top three occupational categories as well as in the lowest category, while they are greatly over-represented in the categories of skilled and semi-skilled labour.

TABLE IX - 15

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION: C.D.O.S COMPARED WITH BROOKSIDE CLINIC PATIENTS (Percentage)

Occupation	C.D.O.	Brookside	X^2	p
Professional	1.5	6.3	8.54	.01
Managerial	5.9	10.0	2.74	not significant
Clerical & Sales	14.7	25.6	9.57	.01
Skilled & Semi-Skilled	61.2	37.5	31.42	.001
Unskilled	16.7	20.6	1.49	not significant
Total (number)	(204)	(378)		

To this point, we have been looking at the employment record of the chronic drunkennes offenders in relatively static terms by focussing on the highest occupations they attained. One of the major limitations of the literature on the economic characteristics of alcoholic and Skid Row populations is the failure to look at these populations as being in a continuing process or else failure to specify the point in time at which the process is being examined. Straus and Bacon's (95) observation that the population they examined shows a marked degree

of stability may be quite valid, but probably the description does not apply to less advanced problem drinkers on the one hand or to Skid Row alcoholics on the other. The conclusion made by Srole *et al* (91) that the downwardly mobile man is more likely to be an alcoholic is subject to a similar criticism since the population is examined at a point in the careers after downward mobility has already begun. Bogue (13) and Bahr (6) are among the few writers who have seriously attempted to analyse the occupational mobility of Skid Row men over time. Bogue found the most typical patterns to be continuously downward mobility, and slight upward mobility followed by extended downward mobility.

Bahr discovered the picture to be somewhat more complex for his New York sample of Skid Row men, but the most frequently occurring pattern, which characterized one fifth of his respondents, was downward mobility only, with the up-then-down career accounting for an additional sixth of the sample. Nevertheless, 30 to 45 per cent of the sample manifested more complicated patterns, some with as many as 8 significant changes in direction of occupational mobility.

The employment career of the chronic drunkenness offender prior to the onset of permanent downward mobility would appear to have two main dimensions. One is the evident vertical mobility (upwards and/or downwards) relative to the subject's own occupational status at a prior point in time and also relative to the occupational rank of others in his family of orientation, especially his father. Directly related to vertical mobility is the second aspect, namely degree of stability and horizontal mobility in the employment history. Thus, the following section will deal with the C.D.O.s' economic role and performance in terms of vertical and horizontal mobility within a temporal framework.

Little direct comparative data were available on other alcoholic populations with respect to vertical occupational mobility. However, the literature suggests that alcoholics are less likely than would be expected for the general population to display upward mobility and achieving and/or striving types of employment careers. Brody (16), Clark (18) and Dastyk (20) refer to personality characteristics as the basic delimiting factor with excessive drinking being related to these features. Hochwald (37) further states that alcoholics aspire to upward mobility but are unable to attain it. Similarly, Merton (62) classifies

alcoholics as 'retreatists' who, though they share the success goal of American society, find themselves unable to effect the means to this end and, in response, turn to problem drinking. Straus and Bacon (95) conclude that clinic alcoholics manifest a "marked degree of occupational ...achievement," while in contrast Pittman and Gordon (72) suggest that the nature of the employment engaged in by chronic police case inebriates (institutional, dependent, non-responsible, etc.) precludes much upward mobility. Bogue (13) finds that all segments of his Skid Row population show little upward mobility but that men with drinking problems display an employment pattern which starts higher, goes up higher, but then drops further. Bogue maintains that these findings support his general conclusion that excessive drinking is a manifestation of underlying personality problems.

In the overall picture, we found that our group of C.D.O.s did experience some upward mobility prior to their economic demise. Although they tended to begin their first jobs at a level lower than the fathers' occupation during their childhood [62% (N = 122) lower and 8% (N = 15) higher, using Blishen's ranks] many C.D.O.s eventually achieved a slightly higher occupational level than their fathers, (39% higher and 36% lower on the Rogoff scale). These findings are somewhat less definitive than those of Bahr (6) who found that fully half of his sample showed clearly lower mean lifetime occupational statuses than their fathers, and only one fifth had achieved more than their fathers.

However, when we consider the changes that have occurred from the fathers' generation to the C.D.O.s' generation in both the general societal devaluation of certain occupational classes, such as semi-skilled craftsmen, of whom there are many C.D.O.s., and the increased and broadened opportunity for formal occupational training, we can probably conclude that, in relative terms, the C.D.O.s did not raise their highest occupational level above that of their fathers. This conclusion is therefore compatible with the findings of Bresard (15), Pittman and Gordon (72), Kantor and Blacker (47), and Bahr (6), that the C.D.O.s' failure to achieve beyond that reached by their fathers may be attributable as much to personal inadequacies as to the general socio-economic circumstances of the families. This

is further reinforced by the finding that the C.D.O.s were less superior to their fathers than were their sibs (39% superior and 36% inferior for C.D.O.s; 51% superior and 24% inferior for sibs, using Rogoff's scale). That is then, siblings tended to have achieved greater upward mobility than the C.D.O.s, a finding consistent with those of Ullman et al (109).

Looking at the C.D.O.s' vertical mobility pattern from the point of reference of their own employment career, we find that here, too, the men exhibited some upward mobility and that the extent of this mobility was relative to the point from which they began their employment careers. That is, the higher the status of the C.D.O.s' initial full time jobs, the higher the occupational level they achieved (p .001). In short, using Blishen's scheme, the higher classes (1-5) show the most upward mobility (especially in the skilled labour class) and the two lowest occupational classes (6 - 7) were the least likely to have experienced any upward mobility. Table IX - 16 shows the differences between occupational classes in rates of mobility.

TABLE IX - 16

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational Mobility[a]	Occupational Classes (Blishen)								
	1 - 4		5		6		7		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Upward mobility	15	52	43	52	19	30	-	-	77
No Mobility	2	7	14	17	21	33	36	100	73
Downward Mobility	12	41	25	31	23	37	-	-	60
Total	29	100	82	100	63	100	36	100	210

$X^2 = 97.55$, 6 d.f., $p < .001$

[a] Only mobility occurring prior to the onset of permanent downward mobility and chronic unemployment was included.

Table IX - 17 demonstrates the overall extent of vertical mobility experienced by the C.D.O. sample taken as a whole prior to the onset of chronic unemployment and permanent downward mobility; here again, as in the comparison with father's occupational level, mobility is measured by improvement between classes of occupation, as measured by both the Blishen and Rogoff categories. We found that roughly one third of those answering displayed upward mobility (Blishen: 33.2%; Rogoff: 36.1%; about one third experienced no mobility (Blishen: 37.1% Rogoff: 33.7%); and the remainder showed only downward mobility (Blishen: 29.7%; Rogoff 30.2%)

TABLE IX - 17

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Mobility	Blishen's Ranks			Rogoff's Categories		
	N	%		N	%	
No Mobility	75	33.5 (37.1) [a]		68	30.4 (33.7)	
One class upwards	37	16.5	(33.2)	23	10.3	(36.1)
Two or more classes upwards	30	13.4		50	22.3	
Downwards only	60	26.8 (29.7)		61	27.2 (30.2)	
N.A.	22	9.8		22	9.8	
Total	224	100.0		224	100.0	

[a] Percentages in brackets are calculated omitting "N.A.s"

Stability

The literature suggests that most alcoholics display a less stable employment pattern than do non-alcoholics (5, 17, 30, 47, 51, 87). Zax (118) makes special reference to the evident geographic mobility of his alcoholic sample. However, some authors (56, 96) qualify their findings by stating that these men display a period of marked stability prior to the onset of problem drinking and unemployment. Pittman and Gordon (72) found a mixed picture with some men in their sample showing definite employment stability.

In order to analyse the economic stability of the chronic drunkenness offenders in our sample prior to the onset of downward mobility, job tenure was considered in relation to selected other items. However, it is difficult to make inferences about the significance of the number of jobs held by the C.D.O.s prior to that time, since in our society both "too few" jobs and "too many" jobs may be considered an unstable work pattern. Nevertheless, the mean number of jobs for the men in the C.D.O. sample, in this earlier period of their lives was 6.4, with a median of 4.8 and standard deviation of 3.7. The picture becomes somewhat more meaningful when we make internal comparisons on the basis of age, since we find that the common-sense expectation that the older C.D.O.s would be likely to have had more jobs does not hold. Moreover, the fewer jobs a C.D.O. had had, the younger he was when economic inactivity first occurred ($p < .001$). These findings again support the conclusion that the more recent and younger entrants into the C.D.O. population display a less stable economic background than the "old guard" of Skid Row.

To begin with, we found that the C.D.O.s (N=199) began their longest held job at a mean age of 24.2 years (median: 21.6 years; standard deviation: 7.5 years). LoCicero *et al* (51) also obtained information on the tenure of the longest job for the inhabitants of Philadelphia's Skid Row. They found that "non-drinkers" tended to hold their longest jobs for a mean of 11.1 years, "non-spree drinkers" 10.3 years, and "spree drinkers" 7.6 years. In respect to longest held job our group of C.D.O.s bears grestest similarity to the Philadelphia spree-drinking group, although the categories are not entirely compatible. Both the C.D.O. and the Philadelphia means are similar to that reported by Strayer (96) of 7.5 years. These findings seem to cast some doubt upon the applicability to our sample of statements made by Bogue (13) and Pittman and Gordon (72) to the effect that the problem drinker had demonstrated

marked economic stability prior to the onset of problem drinking.

As might be expected, the later the C.D.O. started his first job, the later he started his longest held job ($p < .02$) and also the later he earned his highest pay, since it was during his longest held job that he earned his highest pay ($p < .02$). We noted also that the C.D.O.s with longer average tenure of jobs are more likely to have received their highest pay at a later age ($p < .001$) and also to have left their longest and highest status job at a later age ($p < .001$).

However, it is probably significant in this context that the C.D.O.s, as a rule, did not receive their highest pay in their highest occupations as rated both by objective scales and by the subjects themselves. This finding may lend some credence to the Mertonian (62) interpretation of deviance in terms of the actor's perception of a discrepancy between his goals of success and his opportunity for and evidence of achievement, since as we pointed out earlier the C.D.O.s do in fact seem to share the value that the larger society attaches to socio-economic success. Hence the realization that the jobs that they and society consider more prestigious did not afford them the kind of monetary success they might have expected may have discouraged these men from further pursuing work along those lines. This interpretation would be especially relevant to those C.D.O.s who had come from urban areas since, as was pointed out in the section on the community backgrounds, the men who were raised in Toronto were more likely to have had specific occupational goals, in contrast to the Maritimers who tended to recall only very diffuse and vague aspirations, such as for "happiness".

Furthermore, we found that the earlier the chronic drunkenness offender started his longest held job, the earlier he left it ($p < .01$), which suggests that some C.D.O.s may have been unable for personality reasons to stay in a single job for a protracted period of time. However, once again we find a differentiation within the C.D.O. sample on the basis of age, since the older men were much more likely than the younger ones to have had longer tenure of their most stable jobs ($p < .001$). The mean tenure of longest job for the youngest men in the sample (25 to 30 years) was only 2.4 years, while for the group over 35 years, it was 10.7 years. The younger

men in the sample were also much more likely to have had a shorter average job tenure. The mean duration of job tenure for those aged 21 to 40 years was 2.2 years, for the 41 to 50 years age group it was 3.6 years, and for the 51 years and over group it was 4.2 years. ($p < .001$).

Younger men seem to be entering the C.D.O. population at so early an age as to almost preclude even the opportunity to hold a job for any substantial length of time. The finding that the older chronic drunkenness offenders appear to have had a more stable employment history prior to their occupational decline is compatible with Pittman and Gordon's (72) "late Skid" pattern. There is also evidence from our data to suggest that Pittman and Gordon's "early Skid" pattern pertains to the "early starters" in our sample. We found, for example, that the earlier heavy drinking occurred, the shorter the tenure of the longest job and vice versa ($p < .001$). Similarly, the earlier the C.D.O. experienced his first arrest for drunkenness, the more likely he was to have had a short tenure of his longest job ($p < .02$).

The C.D.O. who had the shorter average tenure of employment in his full time jobs was likely to have experienced earlier onset of heavy drinking ($p < .001$), earlier first adult arrest ($p < .001$), and earlier first arrest for drunkenness ($p < .001$) than were those C.D.O.s with a more stable employment history. In short, the C.D.O.s with the shorter average job tenure were less likely to have experienced upward mobility than those with longer average tenure ($p < .05$), and were much more likely to have experienced the onset of permanent downward mobility at an earlier age ($p < .001$).

The frequency of occurrence of periods of unemployment was also examined as evidence of instability prior to the onset of permanent downward mobility and chronic unemployment. The overall distribution shows that 4 out of 5 C.D.O.s (79.9%) experienced some unemployment prior to their occupational decline.

However, the specific forms and duration of unemployment showed considerable variation, with some of it probably related to the vagaries of the type of work engaged in (e.g. casual and seasonal labor). For example, 20.1% (one quarter of those experiencing unemployment) had only periods of less than one month, while another 25.4% had only one period of more than one month. The remaining 34.4% reported several to many periods of unemployment lasting more than one month.

It is not surprising that the group experiencing greater amounts of seasonal and casual work is also the group that encountered the greatest amount of unemployment ($p < .001$). Moreover, those with the more and longer periods of unemployment were more likely to have been arrested at an earlier age ($p < .02$). However, it is interesting that no significant differences exist between age groups and the amount of unemployment preceding permanent downward mobility. Aside from the straight age factor, we would expect on a common-sense basis that the widespread economic depression of the thirties would have affected those over the median age of the sample so as to increase the probability of their having experienced extensive periods of unemployment. That this differentiation on the basis of age did not appear in our sample suggests further the greater economic instability of the more recent, younger members of this population.

There was some indication that employment stability was related to another measure of social stability, namely marital status, since the married C.D.O. was much more likely to have had a longer tenure of longest job than the non-married ($p < .001$), and the longer the C.D.O. marriage lasted the longer was the tenure of his most stable job ($p < .001$). Moreover, those who married were more likely to have had a longer average job tenure than those who didn't marry ($p < .001$). However, closer examination shows that the relationship is not a simple one since we find that no significant differences exist between the non-married and those married less than 11 years. The smallest significant difference exists between the "short marriage" and the "long marriage" groups ($p < .02$), while the largest difference occurs between the "long married" group (over 10 years) and the non-married ($p < .01$). We also found that those men who had never married were more likely to have encountered chronic unemployment at an early age ($p < .001$). The difference exists between the "non-marrieds" and all "marrieds," but it is significantly greater between the "non-marrieds" and those C.D.O.s who had been married for a time exceeding the median duration for the sample. It appears that for marital status to be significantly associated with economic stability, the marital relationship itself had to have been relatively stable.

Although marital stability appears to have been a somewhat stabilizing factor in the employment careers of the C.D.O.s, we cannot infer the converse, for although 82 men in our sample had never been married, only 22 of these (26.8%)

gave economic reasons as the explanation for their never having married. Economic factors apparently played virtually no part at all in the breakup of the marriages of the C.D.O.s questioned, since only one man attributed his marital difficulties to economic causes.

Other indices of social stability which are more directly related to economic stability are property ownership and financial security. We did find significant differences between age groups regarding property ownership, since the C.D.O.s over age 50 years were more likely to have owned property in the past. Moreover, the Maritimers, who also tended to be younger, were the least likely to have ever owned any property, while those C.D.O.s who came to Toronto from other parts of Ontario were the most likely to have at one time owned real estate and/or a car ($p < .02$ and $p < .01$, respectively). Interestingly enough, while far more men had owned cars than property (129 compared with 55), virtually all those who had held property had also owned cars. There was apparently no significant difference in age groups as to the likelihood of having owned a car in the past, but we did find that those who owned a car were likely to have entered the pattern of heavy drinking at a later age than those who never owned a car ($p < .05$). This finding may be connected with the greater necessity for private means of transportation in non-urban areas, where many of the "late starters" in the sample have been shown to come from.

Although our findings show that only 26.5 per cent of the sample had ever owned any real estate, we have no basis on which to compare these data with the general population. Differentiating within the sample itself in terms of kinds of ownership, however, we find that fully 57 per cent of the C.D.O.s who had had property had purchased it themselves, while the other 43 per cent had inherited it; moveover, 72 per cent had been sole owners, while only 28 per cent had held their property on a shared basis. The findings suggest a fairly high degree of past economic initiative and stability among the older men, especially those from parts of Ontario other than Toronto. It is interesting that although property owners were more likely to have come from parts of Ontario other than Toronto, more than half of those who owned property owned urban homes (59%) or urban business property (8%) while only 33 per cent had held rural possessions. This suggests that at least some of the C.D.O.s who had migrated to Toronto from less urbanized areas had become fairly well established in the large city prior to their occupational decline.

Looking at evidence of financial security in the economic background of the C.D.O.s, we find that 82.8 per cent of the sample had once held bank accounts, and 5.6 per cent still did. Of these 11 men, 6 were still part of the non-Skid Row society at the time of the survey, while, surprisingly enough, 5 were integrated members of the Skid Row way of life. However, in the majority of cases it is reasonable to assume that the bank account was held during the pre-Skid Row "stable" period of economic activity.

A look at the possession of life insurance reveals a somewhat dependent financial position assumed by the C.D.O.s. Of the 155 subjects who responded to this item 64.6 per cent had ever held a life insurance policy. Nearly half of the past cases involved some one other than the C.D.O. himself paying the premiums. On the other hand, it was interesting to discover that 7 men were still paying their own life insurance premiums. These findings suggest that that there was a rather wide range of financial security and independence in the history of the C.D.O.s in our sample.

Further to the question of economic stability, there appears to be a highly significant relationship between the nature of the work engaged in and the duration of tenure of employment. For example, the C.D.O. with short job tenure tended to be much more geographically mobile than the C.D.O. with long job tenure. ($p < .001$).

This relationship probably results largely from the type of work being seasonal and non-urban such as crop-harvesting, fruit-picking, logging and mining. The work setting would have been predominantly or exclusively male and heavy drinking a normative pastime. We did find, in fact, that C.D.O.s with a continuous employment history of casual seasonal work were much more likely to have had very short job tenure ($p < .01$). Moreover, chronic drunkenness offenders born and raised in the Maritime Provinces where primary industry predominates, were more likely to have spent a substantial amount of time in all-male work settings ($p < .01$).

The significance of work in all-male settings cannot be interpreted simply, however. The literature on Skid Row alcoholics tends to emphasize the dependency situation of work in remote and "total" institutions where the worker is provided with food and housing and works under close direction. However, another important feature of work in all-male settings is that the skills involved are often not marketable in an urban setting. Since most all-

male work crews are involved with primary industries, such as mining and logging, the skills acquired may not be readily adaptable to urban work settings where industry is, as we have noted previously, mostly of the secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary (service) types. The same non-transferable quality is probably characteristic of skills required in the armed forces, in which many of the middle-aged and older C.D.O.s had served.

As Tilly and Brown (104) have pointed out, the less adaptable or flexible the employment skills, the greater is the probability that geographic mobility will be associated with personal disruption, especially when long-distance migration results in the severing of primary ties:

> Those rupturing close-knit networks of kinship at migration presumably undergo a much greater change in their ways of facing these problems (i.e. assuring a source of income, finding shelter, acquiring commodities, establishing supplies of advice, information and emotional support) than those not rupturing them and often register the cost of the changes in personal discontent and disorganization. But the cost, the consequent upset, the time and energy required to establish new means of meeting these problems are greatest for those who bring with them the least transferable skill, knowledge and power. When migration does cut kinship ties, we might therefore expect it to cause greater disruption among lower-ranking migrants, those with little urban experience, those suffering discrimination, and those at the extremes of age (p7).

On this basis, then, we could predict some degree of personal maladjustment to life in the city from the characteristics of the employment skills of the men in the sample, without reference to the so-called "dependency needs" served by all-male work situations.

Moreover, in our sample we also found that many of the men had for some time engaged in those independent types of labour where the individual is obliged to seek out his own jobs as a relatively unskilled painter, construction worker or handyman. Because of the day-to-day uncertainty

involved in obtaining such work, the employment careers of these men tends to have been sporadic and unstable almost from the start. The concept of mobility of employment skills is probably applicable here as well since both the types of work and the informal contacts required for getting work are often in some degree situation-specific; that is, the behaviour patterns required and acquired on a particular job are not as readily adaptable to other employment situations as are skills developed through formal education and/or skilled technical training.

Our findings for the C.D.O.s do in fact support this interpretation of a relationship between the low-ranking types of employment, such as unskilled and casual work, and economic instability. We found that the man with little or no evidence of casual and seasonal work prior to the onset of permanent downward mobility held his longest job for a much greater length of time ($.02 < p < .01$), and was much more likely to have reached a higher occupational level than did his counterpart with an unstable background ($p < .001$).

Nor is it surprising that the C.D.O. whose work history was comprised of casual and seasonal types of employment encountered the problem of unemployment earlier than the C.D.O. whose economic history was basically stable ($p < .001$). In fact, the longer and more frequent were the periods of unemployment in the work career of the C.D.O. the earlier regular employment ceased ($p < .001$).

Downward Mobility

Our findings suggest a complex relationship between downward mobility and social stability, since it appears that the highest occupation that the C.D.O. attained was marked by a higher level of personal disorganization than any previous period in his work career. We found that the onset of loss of control over drinking ($p < .001$) and the first arrest for drunkenness ($p < .001$) were most likely to have occurred during occupancy of the highest occupation. Sixty-eight per cent of those answering stated that they were at a higher occupational level when loss of control over drinking occurred than when downward mobility started; while 30 per cent said they were at the same level and only 6 per cent said they

were in a lower occupation ($p < .05$). The overwhelming proportion of the men experienced heavy drinking (as distinct from loss of control) prior to the onset of casual and seasonal employment (133, or 71% of 188 subjects reporting). These findings are consistent with Jellinek's (42) conclusion that excessive drinking interferes with economic advancement. It should also be noted that 89.5 per cent of the C.D.O.s went steadily down the occupational scale once they became downwardly mobile; only 10.5 per cent were able to reverse the process and regain a previously-held level before starting down again.

The evidence clearly suggests that problem drinking was a major factor in the precipitation of downward mobility and the pattern of arrest for chronic inebriation, but that heavy drinking itself may have been related in part to employment features. Since we found that the turning point in stability seems to have occurred during the C.D.O.s' highest occupation, it would almost seem that those men had reached the limit of their potential for upward mobility and that subsequent events easily dislodged them from these precarious positions.

It is not surprising, however, that the higher the highest occupation of the C.D.O. the more economically and socially stable he was likely to have been for a longer period of time. For example, the highest occupational class groups (clerical and sales or higher) were likely to have experienced chronic unemployment later in their careers than the lowest occupational class group (unskilled labour) ($p < .01$).

Using ownership of an automobile as an index of economic stability, we found that those in the higher occupational levels (Blishen's classes 1 - 5) were more likely to have owned cars, while the lowest group (class 7) were least likely ($p < .02$), and that the same pattern pertained to possession of a driver's licence ($p < .01$). Also, the lower occupational groups were likely to have been arrested for drunkenness at an earlier age than those in the higher occupational levels ($p < .02$). Moreover, the C.D.O.s in the lowest occupational class (Blishen's class 7) were considerably over-represented as having engaged in seasonal and casual labour prior to the onset of downward mobility while those in classes 1 to 5 were under-represented ($p < .001$).

When we analysed the data in terms of an "early-late" typology establishing each C.D.O.'s age at entering the C.D.O. pattern (heavy drinking, arrest and downward economic mobility) relative to the group, we found no significant association with level of occupation achieved. However, controlling for age revealed that in the younger C.D.O. group the "early starters" were over-represented in the lower occupational classes ($p < .05$).

Table IX - 18 shows the frequency distribution of the sample according to the age at which the chronic drunkenness offenders encountered the onset of permanent downward mobility.

TABLE IX - 18

AGE AT ONSET OF DOWNWARD MOBILITY

Age	Number	Percent
Under 21	7	3.1
21 - 25	11	4.9
26 - 30	30	13.4
31 - 35	36	16.1
36 - 40	39	17.4
41 - 45	36	16.1
46 - 50	24	10.7
51 - 55	12	5.4
56 and over	6	2.7
N.A.	23	10.3
Total	224	100.1

Mean: 37.7 years
Median: 35.2 years
Standard Deviation: 9.4 years

As was suggested above, the data again indicate that the younger C.D.O.s encountered chronic unemployment at a much earlier age than did the older ones ($p < .001$). There was a correlation of +.501 ($p < .001$) between present age at the time of investigation and age at onset of relatively unreversed downward mobility. Once again we find that the younger men tended to be more economically

and socially vulnerable when they were ill-equipped with occupational skills. In the older group on the other hand, there was no significant association between level of occupation and age at onset of the C.D.O. pattern, which suggests their instability was less directly attributable to their employment capabilities. These findings are consistent with those of Bahr, (6) who found that the older men in his Skid Row samples had been somewhat more successful than the younger men in reaching their goals for occupational success.

Interestingly enough, however, we found no significant association between the formal education achieved by the C.D.O. and the age at which he first encountered chronic unemployment. But when we included all employment preparation, such as apprenticeship, we did find that the better trained the C.D.O. was, the more likely he was to encounter late onset of chronic unemployment ($p < .05$).

We also found that age at onset of chronic unemployment tended to be significantly associated with two family background factors which would have affected the C.D.O.s' opportunities to obtain occupational training. That is, the early onset of unemployment was more likely to have occurred for C.D.O.s who reported that they had had incompatible parents ($p < .001$) and whose family of orientation had broken up early ($p < .001$). It will also be recalled that the age at which the C.D.O. left home tended to be associated with the level of education he achieved ($p < .05$).

Consistent with the association between training and age at chronic unemployment is the expected finding mentioned earlier, that the highest occupational class groups (clerical and sales or higher), were likely to encounter economic inactivity later than were the lowest class groups (unskilled labor) ($p < .01$).

We may also look at financial gain as an index of both the occupational achievement and the economic stability of the C.D.O.s. We have already mentioned the curious finding that it was not during their highest ranking occupations that most C.D.O.s obtained the highest pay. Another interesting finding was that the youngest C.D.O.s reached a higher pay level than the oldest, but

not exceeding that of the middle-aged group ($p < .01$). This differs somewhat to our other findings, which suggest that the younger C.D.O.s are not as well equipped with employment skills and did not reach as high a level in their occupational careers. The probable explanation for this is that the younger C.D.O.s benefited from the general upward trend in wages following World War II. This interpretation is substantiated when we look at the age at which the C.D.O.s received their highest pay, for the youngest received their highest pay at a younger age than did the oldest C.D.O.s ($p < .001$).

We note further that the youngest C.D.O.s started their longest job earlier and received their highest pay earlier than did the older C.D.O.s ($p < .01$). Moreover, the longer the C.D.O. stayed in his highest occupation, the older he was when he received his highest pay ($p < .001$).

These findings suggest that the oldest C.D.O.s took longer to achieve their highest pay level, because of their longer training period and longer job tenure, but that the absolute amount earned was not correspondingly larger than that achieved by the younger C.D.O.s due, undoubtedly, to the difference in the general income levels between their generation and that of the younger C.D.O.s. Once again, we have support for the conclusion that the younger members of the C.D.O. population tend to be less economically stable than the older and especially the middle-aged men in the sample.

Perhaps the most dramatic sequence in the economic career of the chronic drunkenness offender is the deterioration of his occupational performance. Of course, as we have suggested throughout, this occurrence must be seen as the culmination of a more basic and cumulative process. There are several forms which this economic career may have taken. The process may have consisted of a long and gradual decline of productive capacities attributable to basic inadequacies of personality and/or employment skills. Or it may be described as a rather mediocre but stable economic career which has been interrupted by some disruptive event in the

latter part of the employment history. Or the employment history may have been characterized by rather marked upward mobility followed by even more dramatic decline. Or, finally, the C.D.O.'s economic career may have been marginal from the start, being characterized by a rather unstable admixture of legitimate and illegitimate activities.

What the men in our sample all have in common however, is eventual downward mobility. As we pointed out earlier, no one begins his life as a C.D.O. or a Skid Row alcoholic - they all "end up" there. All members of the sample, including the chronically ill (e.g. epileptic) and mentally deficient, have been gainfully employed at one time. Thus this period of acute downward mobility manifested by chronic unemployment and casual work is of major importance in the understanding of the C.D.O. - Skid Row alcoholic phenomenon. The most significant finding in this respect, although the most unsettling one from the point of view of an economic explanation of chronic drunkenness, is that problem drinking appears to be the first step in the course of downward mobility for more than two-thirds of the C.D.O.s.

However, even though the final explanation and most meaningful interpretation of this vital stage may lie in the psycho-social area, the economic experiences are integral. We found, for example, that if heavy drinking occurred before the onset of casual and seasonal work, the men were more likely to experience chronic unemployment at a later stage in their economic careers. But if the C.D.O.s already engaged in casual and seasonal employment before the onset of heavy drinking, they were more likely to encounter early chronic unemployment. It is primarily to this latter segment of the C.D.O. population, although it represents only about one-third of our sample, that explanations of the heavy drinking itself in terms of broad economic factors are most likely to apply.

To differentiate between the careers of the chronic drunkenness offenders in terms of the sequence of employment instability and problem drinking is probably largely an analytical distinction since we have found that no clear-cut stages in the cumulative process can be delineated. However, it may be useful to discriminate four career patterns according to the time of onset of heavy drinking associated with arrest for chronic drunkenness, and the

record of criminal deviance other than that associated directly with drinking.

The first of these patterns may be referred to as the early deviant. It is not surprising that the men who early entered the chronic drunkenness offender pattern tend to be among the younger (under 45) members of the C.D.O. sample. This category of men also exhibits an early pattern of juvenile delinquency, or crime in young adulthood which seems to have resulted in an unstable employment history early on, and we find that in most cases, unskilled and sporadic employment preceded or was contemporaneous with heavy problem drinking. Interestingly enough, this pattern is exhibited by both young men who have been raised in Toronto or other large cities and by those migrating to Toronto from the Maritime provinces. These men seem to have "got off on the wrong foot" at an early age and to have compounded their economic and legal vulnerability with drinking problems.

Case Histories

1. Bill Thompson is a 36-year-old man who has lived most of his life in the Junction area of Toronto, where his father is a cabinet maker with a history of alcoholism. His formal education was interrupted at the Grade VII level when he was sent to the Boys' Training School and subsequently to Burwash Reformatory on a series of convictions for housebreaking, trespass and damage, theft, break and enter, and obstructing police. He served for 4 years in the Army where he first began to drink. When he left the military service he married and began to work as a bricklayer for contractors for a total of 15 years. This period of work and marriage was relatively stable until the age of 35 when he became a self-employed, contractor and soon lost interest in working, consequently encountering chronic unemployment and marital instability. Four years ago he was arrested for assaulting police and was committed to Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, after an incident with his wife concerning another woman. From the time he stopped working regularly Mr. Thompson

has devoted more and more of his time and money to drinking and in the last 3 years has been convicted on several occasions for public intoxication. Much of his drinking occurs in the social context of the Junction bottle gangs. In summary, this man began and ended (to this point) his economic career in deviant sub-cultures within a circumscribed geographic area, although the nature of the criminal activities he has engaged in have changed from relatively serious property or aggressive crimes, to rather passive activities centering around problem drinking.

2. John Arthur, aged 72, presents a rather dramatic example of a career not unlike that of Mr. Thompson seen at a later point in time. He, too, has lived most of his life in Toronto where his father was a barber in the "Cabbage Town" area of the old East end. Both of the parents were heavy drinkers and the subject was the oldest of 13 children. He quit school at Grade V in order to work selling newspapers and as a house painter, and as a teenager acquired a juvenile record for breaking and entering. When he was 22 years old, Mr. Arthur's mother died and he "began to ramble", both geographically and socio-economically "on the tramp". He served time for assault and robbery, indecent assault, and spent 10 years in Kingston Penitentiary for carnal knowledge. From 1930 to the present, Mr. Arthur has been a "professional panhandler" and claims not to have engaged in legitimate work since 1941. Although he began to drink at an early age and was actually fired for drinking at age 16, his police record for drunkenness offences did not begin until 1930, when he had ceased to engage in regular employment. In summary, Mr. Arthur's economic career began at a low level and never rose much above that level but he did not become a C.D.O. until middle age although he had had an early record of serious criminal offences.

The following case histories provide a picture of the migrant from the Maritimes, whose employment and police records were unstable almost from the beginning but for whom the consequences of unemployment and heavy drinking have been more personally disorienting in the environment of the large city:

1. Jim Field, age 35, was raised in Glace Bay, N.S., where his father was a coal miner who drank heavily on weekend sprees. The subject himself left school in Grade VII in order to work in the mines, despite the fact that his mother had vague aspirations for him to become a doctor or lawyer. He admits that he drank a lot as an adolescent in the army and merchant marine and was first arrested for drunkenness at age 15. He was first arrested for theft in Nova Scotia at age 23, but has had an extensive criminal record for property offences since he came to Toronto in 1957. Although he left Nova Scotia because of lack of work in the mines he claims never to have been seriously unemployed until he came to Toronto. Since he came to Toronto his marriage and family life has become increasingly more unstable as he and his wife have been drinking more heavily. The family have gone on welfare with his four children having become wards of the Children's Aid Society. In summary, Mr. Field's economic and drinking careers were never very stable, but his difficulties, especially with the law, have been intensified since he came to Toronto, where he has been unable to find work.

2. Murray McEachern, age 46, also grew up in Glace Bay, N.S., where he lived for about 40 years. His father was a boilermaker for a coal company and had 10 children. The subject left school in Grade V in order to work in the mines, where he was employed for 22 years as an iceman and miner until his wife was admitted to a mental institution where she subsequently died. Mr. McEachern has a police record in Nova Scotia dating from 1940 for assault, theft, and neglect of his family, and from 1947 to 1959 he was engaged solely in casual labor. He claims that he did not drink heavily until this time and in

fact his record shows no conviction for drunkenness until 1951. He came to Toronto in 1959 and lives, when he is out of jail, with his brother on Skid Row. Since 1959 he has had an extensive Toronto drunk record. In summary, Mr. McEachern's economic difficulties seem to have stemmed partly from his depriving background and lack of employment skills and partly from disorientation attributable to psycho-social factors, but he has become more vulnerable to arrest for chronic drunkenness since his migration to Toronto from the Maritimes.

The second type of pattern exhibited by early entrants to the chronic drunkenness offender pattern consists of a relatively legitimate but unimpressive employment history followed by unemployment and then problem drinking. It is interesting that these men, who will be referred to as <u>early non-deviants</u>, tended to come from small towns or rural areas outside Toronto and that their legal difficulties with drinking became acute when they came to the city.

1. Fred Clarkson, age 57, came from a "comfortable" home in Pefferlaw, Ontario, where his father was a section foreman for the railroad. The subject left school in Grade XII because of "eye strain" and "pains in the head". He has no real trade and has always engaged in such seasonal and casual occupations as gardening, painting, and fruit picking, except for 18 months which he spent in the Army, where he began to drink heavily in order to relieve his headaches. He is married but has been separated from his wife for 25 years, during which period he has been drinking heavily and has served more than 30 jail terms for drunkenness. In summary, although Mr. Clarkson has a reasonably adequate formal education, he has few if any employment skills, and early drifted into a pattern of seasonal and casual unskilled labour and chronic drunkenness, for which he has been repeatedly arrested in urban areas.

2. Howard Roberts, age 27, is a Negro from a very depriving background in a small Negro community near Chatham, Ontario. Although the father was reportedly rather well-educated, he had a serious record of crime and incarceration and hence the mother, an alcoholic, worked in a canning factory and supported the subject and his sister. Although he had wanted to be an auto mechanic, Mr. Roberts left school after Grade IX to work for the railroad in order to help support his family. He has worked as a common laborer, a truck driver, and a construction worker since that time. Although his employment record was at first relatively stable even at this low level, he has encountered increasing unemployment and arrests for drunkenness and vagrancy since he began to live in Toronto. In summary, Mr. Roberts' record indicates very little upward mobility but also little difficulty with drinking and the police until he began to encounter unemployment and employment instability in the city of Toronto.

The third type of C.D.O. we can consider on these two dimensions of onset of problem drinking and non-drunk police record is the late deviant. In the first place, of course, we find that late deviants tend to be among the older members of the C.D.O. population. They did engage in criminal activities in their earlier years but of late have turned to heavy drinking. These men come the closest in our sample to approximating what Cloward and Ohlin (19) termed "double failures", since they were unsuccessful in rising on both the legitimate and illegitimate career ladders. It is not surprising, then, that these men tended to have been raised in large urban areas where they were afforded the opportunity to get an early start in criminal subscultural activities.

1. Frank Black, age 61, was raised in the docks area of Montreal, the son of a white collar worker who began to drink heavily when the subject was 13 years old. He completed Grade XII but went to work in the shipyards where he became addicted to narcotics at age 18.

He returned to Loyola College to take a course in bookkeeping and typing, which equipped him to be a clerical worker, but he states that he has spent much of his time since age 19, when he left home, in serving jail terms for drug and theft charges, which have hampered him in getting employment. His best job was his second job at age 18, but he lost it because of his narcotic addiction and his stealing to support his habit. He also gave up his marriage, which lasted only 4 months, when he was age 29, because of his narcotic habit. In 1949 he was convicted and given a suspended life sentence as a habitual criminal, and so has given up narcotics to avoid arrest for an indictable offence. As an alternative, however, he has been drinking heavily for the past 10 years, and since 1959 when he returned to Toronto after a 4 year sojourn in Sudbury where he lived with an Indian woman, has spent more time in jail than out.

In summary, Mr. Black has the formal skills to engage in legitimate white collar employment, but instead has spent most of his life in criminal subcultures and penal institutions, so that his employment record appears to have been highly unstable. His problem drinking is definitely a last resort and substitute for the preferred narcotic addiction.

2. Gordon Davis, age 59, was also raised in Montreal, where his parents died when he was a small child. At age 7 he went to an orphanage where he lived until he was 14 years old and then spent two more years living in a boys' home. He obtained a Grade VII education, but left school to become a messenger boy at age 17. He has since worked at painting, fruitpicking, kitchen work and housework - no job lasting more than a month. But he maintains that his economic career really began to slip when he left Montreal "to wander" in 1939 and in 1941 went to jail for breaking and

entering. Between 1941 and 1957 he served 11 sentences for property crimes and has spent much of his time in Jail. He incurred his first arrest for drunkenness in 1945 but has had an extensive drunk record in Toronto since 1956.

In summary, Mr. Davis never really acquired sufficient employment skills to secure stable work and consequently has almost from the beginning been only marginally involved with both legitimate and illegitimate economic activities, and has latterly added chronic public drunkenness to his deviant activities.

The fourth economic career pattern that can be delineated is that of the late non-deviant for whom an unstable employment pattern followed the onset of problem drinking and arrest for chronic drunkenness. It is this segment of the C.D.O. population that comes closest to conforming to the Skid Row myth of the "tragic hero" or "fallen angel" mentioned earlier, who, having achieved a relatively stable and/or high occupational position began a rather dramatic economic decline when heavy drinking, the "fatal flaw", came to dominate his life. Usually these men are older when they reach the Skid Row way of life and often they have come from relatively stable small town Ontario backgrounds, having no record of illegal activities or criminal associates apart from those related to their drinking problems.

1. Henry Watson, age 51, was born and raised in Waubashene, Ontario, the eldest son of the owner of a country store and service station. This man attained Grade XII education and left school to assist in his father's business until they lost it in the Great Depression. The family then moved to Toronto when the subject was 23 years old and he began to work as a truck driver and then an assembly line worker. Mr. Watson married and took on the fairly stable job as a bus operator and subsequently became a supervisor, which position he held for 18 years until in 1957 he was fired for drinking on the job. He then drove a cab for two months and a delivery truck for 4 weeks, but has had no steady

employment since. He has been separated from his wife since April of 1960, when she left him because of his drinking and he has had an extensive drunk record since that time.

The following case is quite atypical of the C.D.O. sample but it does demonstrate that men sometimes do end up on Skid Row after fairly illustrious employment careers.

2. Edward Church, age 66, was raised near Markham and Gormley, just outside Toronto, the son of a well-to-do horse-trader. When he was 13 years old, the family moved to Toronto where he attended Upper Canada College and made prominent social contacts. He then entered the University of Toronto to study medicine and dentistry and subsequently took one year of graduate studies in dental surgery at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

   He married and set up dental practice in Newmarket and in addition, assisted a Toronto dentist and provided his services to the local orphanage. In 1938 he moved to Toronto because of his wife's chronic illness, and set up his own practice as well as serving as a hospital dentist. He and his wife had three children, all of whom predeceased them, and the wife herself eventually died in 1950. Dr. Church then went north to James Bay to work among the Eskimos, but was returned to a sanitarium in 1954 when he contracted T.B. He has been receiving pensions from the government and the University of Toronto, and since 1955 he has acquired a police record for public intoxication and related offences.

   Dr. Church denies that he has a drinking habit and hence it is difficult to ascertain how much his drinking contributed to his misfortune or vice versa. Nevertheless, it seems that problems and events in his personal life were substantially responsible for the serious disruption of a promising employment career.

In summary, then, we can say that the lower occupational classes represented among the C.D.O.s were more likely to have had an employment record of seasonal and casual labor prior to the onset of downward mobility and hence were more likely to have entered a deviant pattern, whether simple drunkenness or drinking problems accompanied by other criminal offences, at an earlier age, without ever having accomplished any substantial upward mobility.

In general, our findings seem to cast doubt upon the relevance of the 'undersocialization' thesis of Pittman & Gordon (72) and to support the suggestion of Bogue (13), and Bahr (6) that Skid Row chronic drunkenness offenders may be 'deviant children grown up'[4], i.e. that from an early age their socialization was somewhat aberrant.

Those chronic drunkenness offenders who came from urban areas were more likely to have been involved in law-breaking activities than were those men who had been raised in small towns or rural areas, which suggests that available opportunity structures may have played a large part in determining whether the C.D.O.s' career pattern began on a "straight" or "deviating" path.

In large cities such as Montreal and Toronto both "deprivation" and opportunity for criminal "innovation" would have been more likely to be perceptible to the C.D.O. himself and reinforced by differential peer group association during the formative periods of adolescence and young adulthood.

The Criminal Careers section of this study reports that, of those 176 C.D.O.s (61.8%) with a criminal record for other than drunkenness convictions, most (43.7%) exhibited their serious criminal behaviour early in their lives, some continued to engage in criminal deviance throughout their careers, and some actually increased their rate of crime in later years. The typical pattern was for the criminal and drunkenness phases to overlap, since only 36 cases showed a clear-cut separation between the period of criminal convictions and the career of drunkenness offences only. In fact, fully 45 per cent of those C. D. O.s who had ever been convicted of non-drunkenness

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[4] The expression is that of Lee N. Robins (81). However we do not necessarily imply that the C.D.O.s have "sociopathic personalities" as Robins argues.

offences had been arrested for drunkenness at least once prior to their arrest for an indictable offence. This suggests the relative independence of the factor of problem drinking from involvement in criminal activities in the background of the C.D.O.s, though once the C.D.O. pattern has been established, the two forms of deviant behavior do seem to become closely associated.

The chronic drunkenness pattern tended to begin early for those men whose low education equipped them to engage mainly in sporadic, unskilled and all-male employment which facilitated and normatively encouraged heavy and/or spree drinking. This was particularly the case for those young men who had been raised in the Maritime provinces where male peer group heavy drinking appears from the interviews to be the informal expectation for validation of the male role. These men consequently, had experienced a shorter career of heavy drinking before being arrested for chronic drunkenness offences in Toronto where official police enforcement of the drinking statutes is more stringent. They seem to have fallen into the C.D.O. pattern almost immediately upon their first arrest for drunkenness. Heavy drinking among the Maritimers, then, tended to be less associated with difficulties in interpersonal relationships or downward occupational mobility and more closely related to normative discrepancies, with reference to both work skills and to drinking patterns, between small towns in the Maritimes and urban Toronto.

In those cases where the chronic drunkenness offender pattern began relatively late to disrupt the C.D.O.'s upwardly mobile and/or stable economic career, it appears that personal problems rather than deviant subcultural involvements, contributed to and effectively structured the course of downward mobility. Because of the difficulty in probing these areas of sensitivity, we cannot draw clear-cut conclusions as to whether such factors as marital instability preceded the C.D.O. drinking problem or stemmed from it.

It is safe to say, however, that such family and personal factors would probably have been mutually aggravating and could well have brought about the extreme alienation that would remove a man from his social ties and leave him vulnerable to arrest even though he may have had no previous entanglements with the police. Bahr (6) describes this phenomenon, which he also found in his investigation of New York Skid Row populations, as an "accumulation of personal problems into a 'critical mass' which 'explodes' and dislodges him from his earlier social bonds" (p 231).

Looking at the downward mobility process as it was perceived by the chronic drunkenness offenders themselves, we found that only 13 men (5.6%) gave employment or financial reasons as the explanation for the onset of heavy drinking. However, fully 67.8 per cent (152 men) admitted that their employment career had been adversely affected by their drinking. Of these, 26.8 per cent referred to difficulties in performance on the job and another 26.8 per cent spoke of heavy drinking as contributing to difficulties with supervisors. Interestingly enough, only 3 men (1.3%) mentioned that heavy drinking created difficulties with their fellow workers. This suggests either that the C.D.O.s may have been socially alienated from their associates on the job or that heavy drinking may have been positively sanctioned within the work group. In either case, we can visualize little effective informal deterrence to heavy drinking in the kinds of work that the C.D.O.s appear to have been doing. As Trice (105) has suggested, these problem drinkers may actually have sought out employment situations and work groups where their drinking would have been overlooked for an extended period of time. Only 14 men (6.3%) admitted that they had actually quit their jobs in order to drink.

There is some evidence that social relationships, especially those involving drinking behaviour, were structured to a considerable degree by the C.D.O.s' job situations up to the point at which downward mobility began. After this turning point, drinking itself became relatively independent of employment contingencies. For 38 of the C.D.O.s, the original drinking companions were fellow workers. At a later point in the drinking and work career but still prior to the start of the downward trend, 43 were drinking mainly with fellow workers. At the onset of heavy drinking, the number who were drinking primarily with work associates had increased to 56, but by the time loss of control of drinking had occurred, the number had decreased to only 31 C.D.O.s. Of course this apparent alienation from the informal work group is at least in part a function of the decrease in the number of men who were working after the onset of chronic unemployment and, consequently the decrease in the number of work associates available and/or familiar to the C.D.O.

We mentioned earlier that there was a strong tendency for the C.D.O.s to have begun their heavy drinking during their highest occupation with downward mobility following . It is interesting that when the men were questioned as to why they left their best job, most attributed it to personal fault rather than to external factors. Only 17.4 per cent (39 men) stated that they left their best job in circumstances - such as depression, recession, layoffs, or military service - that do not indicate a personal problem. Another 10.3 per cent (23 men) blamed personal reasons for which they were not directly responsible, such as family problems and illness. However, fully 20.5 per cent (46 C.D.O.s) blamed loss of control over drinking and 39.6 per cent (89) cited reasons which suggest some other deterioration of their own economic performance. Of the men who stated why downward mobility occurred in their economic careers (N=72), 53.2 per cent of the C.D.O.s answering (42 men) gave drinking problems as the main cause. Eleven men (15.3%) gave health reasons, 3 (1.3%) mentioned marital problems and 13 (18.1%) referred to basic economic conditions. Thus, it is fairly evident, both from our own analysis of the sequence of events in the C.D.O.s' economic careers and from the evaluations of the C.D.O.s themselves, that the process of economic downward mobility is only secondarily attributable to external factors. Drinking problems however, appear to contribute significantly and directly to the C.D.O.s' economic problems. At the same time, there is certainly the possibility that both economic decline and problem drinking may be consequences of more basic psycho-social maladjustments.

This interpretation seems to be consistent with the conclusion drawn by Bahr (6) about the New York Skid Row samples that Skid Row attracts economically marginal men, regardless of whether they have an extensive history of heavy drinking. Bahr based this conclusion on the finding that, on the one hand, those Skid Row men who drank heavily did not differ markedly from the others in probability of employment at any particular age, but that, on the other hand, with increasing age there was a consistent decline in the proportion of Skid Row men employed.

The real turning point in the career of the C.D.O. probably occurs when his economic activities become relatively more oriented to consumptive activities than to productive employment, and work becomes secondary in priority to drinking. In fact, as we have noted, the productive period of the chronic drunkenness offender's career is marked both by its instability and by its relative briefness. The mean age of the C.D.O. sample is 45 years, an age of peak productivity by general

population standards. Instead, the chronic offenders have become non-productive and entered the dependent stage of their lives much earlier than "normal" members of society.

CURRENT ECONOMICS OF THE SKID ROW C.D.O.

To this point in our discussion, we have been looking at the socio-economic background, and the education and employment history of the chronic drunkenness offender in diachronic terms, that is, as his career unfolded over time to the point at which he could be said to have become a C.D.O. By our definition the term chronic drunkenness offender is a legal one, denoting a person who has been convicted for the offence of public intoxication at least 3 times within a 12 month period prior to the study. The Skid Row C.D.O. is one of the more or less distinct groups within a larger population known as "homeless men". The term Skid Row as we are using it, refers to an overall composite way of life, including 13 specific criteria of social relationships, source of income, and method of satisfying creature comforts. All subjects in our sample meet the requirements of the definition of C.D.O., but 15 men (5.3%) are not Skid Row habitues on the basis of the established criteria. However, since 95 per cent of the sample does meet both definitions, we shall continue to use the term Skid Row C.D.O. in referring to the population in question.

While not all Skid Row alcoholics are C.D.O.s, virtually all C.D.O.s are Skid Row alcoholics. One could also say with considerable confidence that the Skid Row C.D.O. is a "wino", since all but 17 (7.4%) out of 231 men report that they drink mostly or exclusively wine. Thus the population discussed here is one characterized by frequent arrests for public intoxication resulting mainly from drinking wine and leading a particular sort of economic and social existence. In most cases, those men who have become C.D.O.s have eventually ended up on Skid Row.

In this section, then, we shall treat of Skid Row C.D.O.s in relatively synchronic terms; that is, we shall try to create a picture of the current economic way of life of the men who subsist on Skid Row.

Earlier, we suggested that the C.D.O. enters the final phase of his economic career, the return to consuming activities, at an earlier age than is expected for the general adult male population. However, it has to be admitted that if we are to treat of Skid Row as an economic system, by definition it must be comprised of both productive and consumptive activities. The important and distinctive feature of the Skid Row economic system is that the hand-to-mouth subsistence level at which the inhabitants live is considered to be an economic and social liability to the larger society. Such "productive" activities as are performed are typically characterized as being irregular, unstable, and frequently illegal, while the consuming activities are usually discussed in terms of how dependent or "parasitic" they are.

This set of perceptions existed long before the present Skid Row as such emerged. Ribton-Turner (79) in 1887 focused on a segment of the population which displayed some of these same economic features and which also was the object of negative sanctions by the society of its day. Similarly, Karl Marx (55) referred to this segment of his perceived society as the "dangerous class, the social scum, that passively rotting mass..."

At the same time, society has traditionally shown a somewhat paternalistic sympathy towards this kind of passively deviant behaviour and the persons who display it. This benevolent attitude is illustrated by the considerable number of "charitable" activities that are focused on these people and that facilitate their dependency on "hand-outs" for subsistence.[5] A related influence is the growing tendency to view problem drinking as an illness deserving of public attention and treatment. Over time, however, the objective forms of behaviour such as unemployment, vagrancy, criminality and excessive or uncontrolled drinking, have persisted in relatively unaltered form. What has changed is the perception and interpretation of this behaviour by the society as a whole, and in particular those segments directly involved with this population, namely the helping professions and legal authorities.

The present prevailing perception of the Skid Row C.D.O.s' economic activities appears to be an ambivalent mixture of censure, tolerance and public complicity. On the one hand, the laws related to vagrancy, public intoxication and restrictive welfare regulations provide official deterrents to "parasitic" behaviour; but on the other hand lenient enforcement of these laws and regulations, particularly in

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[5] See Chapter on Skid Row

certain geographic and social areas, serves to temper the stringency of these restrictions. Moreover, the behaviour is actually endorsed and reinforced by the public, both by individuals who give the panhandler a "dime for a cup of coffee" and by collective charitable institutions which cater to and thereby perpetuate this population. If the Skid Row C.D.O. has effectively ceased to be a productive member of society, it may be due in large part to the availability of facilities allowing him to engage primarily in consumptive activities. Hence Skid Row must be considered not only as a place or state where an unfortunate person may end up but also as a separate and distinctive way of life which may actually be attractive insofar as it provides the opportunity for physical and social sustenance with minimal requirements for productive economic effort or output on the part of the individual.

Dunham (27) comments upon the economic functions, past and present, of the homeless man. He states that even though the employment opportunities for homeless men have been reduced, primarily as the result of technological developments, there are still economic roles that these men can and do perform. However, this supposition tends to underplay the distinctive features of particular segments of the homeless population and to overlook the possibility that the homeless man may have certain psycho-social features, such as alcoholism, that preclude his meeting the requirements of an occupational role. As we have pointed out, there is an abundance of literature indicating background factors which appear to be related to downward social and economic mobility and even to entering Skid Row. But few researchers adequately distinguish differences between Skid Row sub-types. Bogue (13) is an exception in that he concludes that the alcoholic derelict is on Skid Row primarily as a result of personality abnormalities while non-alcoholics on Skid Row are there essentially for economic and related social reasons. Although Rubington's (86) insightful analysis relating employment activities to Skid Row stratification is not directly pertinent to our discussion, he does consider a number of Skid Row drinking subgroups in terms of their ability to command economic resources. He states that the source, amount, and disposition of funds locate each drinking man on Skid Row in terms of a hierarchical social structure. Our population of C.D.O.s actually corresponds to his lowest status group, which comprises the largest portion of his Skid Row population who are chronic drunkenness offenders.

The Chicago (13) and Philadelphia (51) studies encompassed the total Skid Row ("homeless man") populations in their respective cities, but in addition they analysed their data relative to drinking behaviour. Bogue (13) found in Chicago a definite association between problem drinking and lack of employment, although age, physical handicap and lack of training were also significant correlates. Both of these studies also describe in considerable detail the actual amount earned in employment, the specific kinds and amounts of work done, the institutional sources of food, clothing and shelter, and the objects of expenditure.

Bain (8) also outlines at some length the overall economic activities of the alcoholic on the Chicago Skid Row. He seems to have caught some of the social and psychological dynamics and the colour related to the economics of this population investigated. His reference to the extreme instability of Skid Row employment activities is consistent with other findings and also with other features Skid Row life, and he concludes that alcohol assists the downwardly mobile Skid Row alcoholic in the process of reaffirming his adherence to the prevailing values of Skid Row and of rejecting the "outside" way of life.

The findings of Pittman and Gordon (72) present a general picture similar to the one that emerges from our investigation, especially regarding the apparently debilitating effect of excessive drinking on economic performance. Similarly, Peterson (70) describes the evident extreme downward mobility and the instability of employment on Skid Row, and classifies Skid Row inhabitants on the basis of economic role and related drinking patterns.

There can be no doubt that the Skid Row C.D.O. as an "abusive" or problem drinker, centers much of his economic activity around obtaining and consuming alcohol. As Peterson and Maxwell (71) observed, the only other item besides wine that the "wino" consistently spends money on is a bed. By the time a person becomes a "wino", however, his earning capacity has become extremely low, and his productive economic activities are limited by his drinking behaviour, so that his main sources of money are occasional work and supplementary "bumming" or other marginal or illegal gainful economic activities.

The role of alcoholism in bringing about the way of life of the Skid Row C.D.O. should not be oversimplified, since it is obvious from a review of the literature on alcoholic populations (11, 17, 30, 95) that the clinic or hospitalized alcoholic differs markedly from the Skid Row C.D.O. in occupational adjustment and social affiliations. Unfortunately, the literature sheds little light on the essential nature, relevance and significance of these differences. If the Skid Row alcoholic is no different from the clinic alcoholic with respect to the recognized essential features of alcoholism, then the observed differences between life styles of the two populations must be explained in terms of influences other than alcoholism.

Comparisons between Skid Row alcoholics and other alcoholics reveal the obvious finding that the latter display much more stability of employment. Feeney et al. (30) found that 66 per cent of their clinic group were engaged in steady employment, while only 4 per cent of their workhouse inmates were working steadily, the remaining 96 per cent doing irregular work. Bogue (13) concludes that Skid Row alcoholics are more similar to the other inhabitants of Skid Row than to other alcoholics in that their situation is such that unemployment is chronic and endemic, both by the nature of their personal condition and also by the prevailing external economic conditions.

Although these studies generally establish definite and distinct differences between alcoholic populations with respect to present economic activities, their findings do not answer the important question of whether the Skid Row wino is simply the end product of a process which other alcoholics are prevented from arriving at due to external forces. Though there is some literature that directly examines the possible relationship between pre-Skid Row employment patterns and current employment activities, the evidence is certainly inadequate to test Straus' (94) thesis that all alcoholics would become homeless men if left to their own resources. Our evidence, based primarily on an internal analysis of our data with limited comparative inquiries, including the comparisons with the economic activities of patients attending the Toronto out-patient clinic of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation, strongly suggests that the distinctions lie partly in the non-alcoholism areas.

The well-established picture of the Skid Row chronic drunkenness offender as an economic parasite is partially but not wholly, justified. Although the main lucrative activity of the C.D.O. population, taken as a whole, is not work, some C.D.O.s do engage in regular employment and most must

scrounge a living by their own efforts or means, legal or illegal.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of the economic activities of the chronic drunkenness offenders is the extent to which gainful employment does occur, despite the fact that, in comparison to the position that employment occupies in the lives of "regular" members of the larger society, these men are significantly less involved in work. This latter fact is abundantly evident, both in the absolute amount of time spent in legitimate employment and in the relatively greater proportions of time spent in other forms of economic activity, such as bumming, stealing and utilizing charitable institutions.

At the same time there is evidence from several sources, including mission administrators, welfare officials, custodial staff, our own field observations and the direct reports of the Skid Row C.D.O.s themselves, that there are other segments of the Skid Row population that do considerably less work than the C.D.O.s. One such group, of course, is the aged and infirm. Another is comprised of those men and women who are leading a predominantly or wholly criminal existence. And also there is the group known as "mission stiffs," since they are physically capable of employment but are wholly dependent on charitable sources. This finding is consistent with Bogue's (13) conclusion that heavier drinkers on the Chicago Skid Row were more likely to work than certain of the abstainers and light drinkers, who apparently were on Skid Row for physical and psychological reasons which precluded regular employment.

Interestingly enough, the problem drinking itself is perhaps the major factor which differentiates the C.D.O.s from these other more "parasitic" elements of Skid Row. Often because of their drinking the C.D.O.s find themselves ineligible for many of the charitable sources, such as public welfare and mission services, which require the recipients of largesse to exhibit some evidence of effort to "reform". This difficulty in establishing a legitimate claim to dependent status is particularly acute for the younger C.D.O.s who, as we pointed out earlier, are usually physically capable of work and have come to Toronto in search of employment, but whose greatest handicap aside from drinking is their lack of employment skills.

However, one of the most interesting findings in our study was that none of the subjects' pre-C.D.O. employment features, including occupational mobility and employment stability, were significantly related to whether the C.D.O. currently worked or not. The findings do not establish any basis for attributing to those chronic drunkenness offenders who currently work earlier features or characteristics different from those of the C.D.O.s who do not work. Yet this is not to suggest that once a man enters the C.D.O. population all previous differences cease to operate. On the contrary, the simple fact that some C.D.O.s work while others do not indicates the likelihood of underlying differences. However, the nature of these differences has yet to be ascertained and the dynamics of these respective influences traced over time. The suggestion is that even though external factors, both economic and social, may be extremely important in directing a man to Skid Row in the first place, once he has arrived, Skid Row is a relatively distinct economic system and way of life in which factors and features in the immediate situation have more importance in determining the current patterns of behaviour. In fact, for the C.D.O.s who worked at all, the only background factor related to the actual amount of employment they had engaged in after their last release from incarceration was the duration of excessive problem drinking. That is, the C.D.O. with a longer history of heavy drinking was likely to have exhibited shorter duration of employment.

Productive Activities

Table IX - 19 presents the distribution of the main economic activities of the C.D.O. population. [6] This calculated distribution includes only activities that result in the acquisition of actual monies, and as such excludes food, clothing and accommodation received from public or private sources. Also, it pertains only to the C.D.O.s' life on the 'outside"; this is an important distinction, since such a large part of their lives is spent in custodial institutions. Direct questions related to sources of income tended to elicit and inordinate proportion of distortions, denials and outright fabrications, as

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[6] Information as to the C.D.O.s' current productive activities was elicited at a number of points during the interviews. These data were augmented and validated from both documentary and field research sources. The findings here reported represent the tabulation of the C.D.O.s' main productive activities based on these assessments.

we learned from cross-reference to other sources including direct observation and documentary data. The men typically minimized all gainful economic activities except legitimate work, about which they apparently gave reliable information. The reasons for this selective reporting may have been partly based on practical fear of detection in illicit activities and attendant legal consequences, but in addition from a rather considerable degree of sensitivity to the values and expectations of the larger society inherent in these responses which tend to de-emphasize deviant behaviour. Vander Kooi (110) likewise noted the extent to which Skid Row men respond in a manner which reflects conformance to widely held social norms about acceptable means of earning a living.

TABLE IX - 19

C.D.O.S' MAIN GAINFUL ACTIVITIES

Source	Number	Percentage
Begging	112	50.0
Stealing and other criminal activities	41	18.3
Work (any gainful and legal employment)	37	16.5
Pensions (old age, D.V.A.)	16	7.0
Welfare and Rehabilitation	16	7.0
Peddling	2	1.1
Total	224	99.9

It should be noted that the activities and/or sources listed in Table IX - 19 are not mutually exclusive occupations for the C.D.O.s, but in this presentation the C.D.O.s are categorized according to their main source of income. Except for pensions, a source of income for which many are not eligible, all of the other items pertain to almost all C.D.O.s on Skid Row to some degree. However, we did not find as clear a structure of the C.D.O. population as Rubington (86). His distinction between those who still engage in productive labour and those who derive their income from "parasitic" activities such as panhandling does not hold as precisely for our population. If the non-Skid Row and marginal Skid Row C.D.O.s are excluded, no marked (structural) differences in gainful activities are evident in the remaining group of Skid Row C.D.O.s, and economic roles are not highly specialized or exclusive. For example, it is not uncommon for a C.D.O. to begin a spree on the money earned at a casual labour job and then resort to bumming or boosting after the original funds have been depleted.

Looking at Table IX - 19, we see the extent to which the Skid Row C.D.O. population is unproductive in terms of legitimate functions performed for the larger society. Gainful legal employment is the primary productive activity for only 16.5 per cent of the sample of 224, while the remainder derive their income mainly from illegal or charitable sources. Even the "peddling" that is done involves more largesse on the part of the "customer" than industry on the part of the peddler.

Our findings on the relative amounts of gainful legal employment performed by the C.D.O.s appear to be only partially consistent with the reports of other investigators who offer a wide range of conclusions. Peterson (70) makes the somewhat questionable claim that work is the main or only source of income for 90 to 95 per cent of the Seattle "Wino" population. On the other hand, several other studies report a considerably larger proportion of the group to be chronically unemployed. Pittman and Gordon (72) report upwards of 16 per cent as unemployed, Straus and Bacon (95) 35 per cent, Strayer (96) 38 per cent and LoCicero (51) 52.6 per cent. Bogue (13) breaks the Chicago Skid Row population down into drinking behaviour categories and shows that both the teetotalers (68.5%) and the alcoholic derelicts (74.0%) have a higher proportion of unemployed than do the heavy drinkers (49.3%).

Gainful Legal Employment

We have already stated that only 16.5 per cent of our sample engaged in gainful legal employment as their main productive activity and we have touched briefly on the factors determining whether or not a C.D.O. works. In general, we can say that the likelihood of a chronic drunkenness offender seeking employment appears to be related to certain characteristics, namely: being younger (particularly under 50 years of age), being physically fit, having had a shorter duration of heavy drinking, and being less integrated into Skid Row. It should be noted that, just as we found earlier that there was a relationship between being young at the time of sampling and being an earlier starter in the C.D.O. pattern, all of the latter three characteristics mentioned above which are associated with the probability of working are partially dependent on chronological age; hence, when age was controlled, the significance of the differences tended to be markedly diminished.

To begin with, the younger C.D.O.s (under 50) were much more likely to have sought work of some kind, either steady or casual, after their last release from custody ($p < .01$), although the age distributions of those seeking either casual or steady work were found not be significantly different.

These findings of factors related to the employment activities of the Skid Row alcoholic are consistent with those reported in the literature. LoCicero (51) found, for example, that physical condition and age affected the amount of work done by men on the Philadelphia Skid Row. Bogue (13) reports that the derelict alcoholics, the aged, and the infirm of the Skid Row habitues he studied were the least likely to have been employed. Blacker and Kantor (10) found that their halfway house subjects who were physically healthy were most likely to work.

Table IX - 20 presents the tabulation of the data on the physical condition of our chronic drunkenness offender group as determined by medical examination. Only nineteen C.D.O.s (8.3%) were found to be permanently unfit for work. Another eleven men (4.8%) were unfit but their conditions were diagnosed as amenable to physical rehabilitation. Thus, over 90 per cent of the men in the sample were, or could become, fit for employment, and well over half were currently capable, from a physical standpoint, of undertaking any type of labouring job.

TABLE IX - 20

ABILITY TO WORK

Work Category	Number	Percent
Heavy Physical Labour	138	60.5
Light work and amenable to therapy	20	8.8
Light work only	40	17.5
Unfit but amenable to therapy	11	4.8
Unfit to work permanently	19	8.3
Total	228	99.9

Although many more C.D.O.s are unemployed than would be expected on the basis of their physical conditions, we did find that physical ability to work was positively related to actual work done ($p < .05$). As might be expected, we found that the older C.D.O.s were much more likely to have been evaluated as physically unfit ($p < .001$). Looking at the picture from the point of view of treatment, the C.D.O. who worked and/or sought work was more likely to have been independently rated as a better prospect for rehabilitation than the C.D.O. who did not work ($p < .001$). (See Appendix 1 - for Prognosis Typology).

Moreover, we found that those C.D.O.s with a longer history of heavy drinking were less likely to include work among their present economic activities ($p < .001$). However, again the age factor is pre-eminent, since when age was controlled, the differences were no longer significant. It is obvious, also, that duration of heavy drinking is likely to be integrally related to present physical condition.

LoCicero's (51) analysis of the Philadelphia Skid Row population revealed that the longer a man had been on Skid Row, the more chronic unemployment he displayed. Likewise, we found that the more integrated a C.D.O. was into the Toronto Skid Row way of life and pattern of social relationships, the less likely he was to work. The worse the chronic drunkenness offender's physical condition the more integrated he was into Skid Row ($p < .001$), the longer his duration of heavy drinking ($p < .01$) and the more convictions for drunkenness he had had in the previous 6 years ($p < .01$). Again, all of these factors are conjunctively influenced by chronological age.

The fact that the number of drunk convictions over a 6 year period is related to ability to work while the number incurred over a shorter period of time is not so correlated suggests the influence of sampling biases. Either 12 months is not long enough to establish a definite pattern and eliminate sampling variability, or else more recent entrants into the C.D.O. population (i.e., those who have been there less than 6 years), neutralize in the calculations the more pronounced patterns of the more established members.

In the area of social relationships we found that the C.D.O. who had no contacts with family members or non-Skid Row friends was the least likely to have worked after

his last release from custody, while the man who was less alienated from normal social relationships was also less cut off from regular employment ($p < .01$). At the same time, however, we found that those C.D.O.s who retained some affectional and/or sexual relationships with women were no more likely to have worked.

The kinds of work that the C.D.O.s who did work, engaged in, also tend to be characteristic of Skid Row, since the largest proportion of it was unskilled, seasonal and/or casual labour.

Surprisingly, 14 men stated that they have had stable or potentially permanent employment recently. Further investigation revealed that three of these claims were untrue, but the remaining 11 men actually had jobs that they could have retained more or less indefinitely. In all of these cases, employment was terminated due to involvement in heavy drinking.

Comparison of the occupational statuses of our Skid Row C.D.O.s with those of other alcoholic populations reported in the literature suggests that Skid Row drunks in general are relatively deprived in this respect. The percentages of unskilled labourers among the Skid Row alcoholics examined in selected studies are as follows: Bacon (5), 57.1 per cent; Bain (8), 62 per cent; Peterson (70), 84.2 per cent; and Feeney et al (30), 86 per cent. The most extreme finding reported is Straus (94), 99 per cent inskilled labour. In contrast, non-Skid Row alcoholics appear to be employed in somewhat better positions. For example, Bailey et al (7) report that only 2.0 per cent of their "projected" alcoholics were in the unskilled albour category, Feeney et al. (30) reported a finding of 32 per cent, while Straus and Bacon (95) state that only 17 per cent of their clinic population possessed such low occupational status.

Turning again to our sample, we find (Table IX - 21) that for the 133 C.D.O.s who answered the question and who usually seek work, fully 85.7 per cent looked for unskilled employment and the remaining 14.3 per cent sought semi-skilled or skilled jobs. However, more interesting is the comparative relationships shown in this table between the C.D.O.s' responses to the questions about the kind of work they would like to do, what they generally seek, and what they looked for during their last period out of jail.

TABLE IX - 21

COMPARISON OF PREFERRED WORK, WORK USUALLY SOUGHT, AND WORK SOUGHT ON LAST RELEASE

(Percentage)

Type of Work	Preferred Work		Work usually sought		Work sought on last release	
Unskilled	28.0	(30.7)[a]	50.0	(85.7)	57.4	(99.2)
Semi-skilled or skilled	53.9	(58.3)	8.3	(14.3)	0.4	(0.8)
Clerical or higher	10.0	(11.1)	-		-	
None	3.0		31.1		36.0	
N.A.	5.2		10.5		6.1	
Total	100.1	(N=228)	99.9	(N=228)	99.9	(N=228)

[a] Figures in brackets represent percentage calculations when "None" and "N.A." are excluded, and hence indicate the relative importance of kinds of work actually sought.

The distribution of responses to "preferred work" is not significantly different from that of the highest occupations achieved, which again suggests a substantial measure of commitment to the status system of the larger society. However there is a marked discrepancy between these aspirations and the actual means which the C.D.O.s employ, for the work that they seek is significantly lower in occupational ranking than these highest occupations ($p < .01$). We found that none of the C.D.O.s actually sought clerical or higher positions, only 8.3 per cent said that they usually sought skilled or semi-skilled work though fully 53.9 per cent claimed to prefer this kind of employment, and half (50.0%) of the men sought unskilled jobs even though little more than a quarter (28.0%) stated that this was the work that they preferred.

The work sought on last release from custody is even more different than the work usually sought from that of the highest occupation achieved and preferred as Table IX-21 indicates. Moreover, this more specific question probably elicited a more accurate and current picture of the type of work actually sought and performed regularly by the C.D.O.s.

The difference between the type of work they would like to do and the kind they actually do is even more evident when we omit from the calculations those who did not seek (or find) work at all (Table IX - 21, figures in brackets).

Additional information on the kind of work sought by the C.D.O.s after their last release from jail supports the picture of predominantly casual, unskilled work. Seventy-two men (31.6%) sought light work, while 59 men (25.9%) looked for heavy labour. Excluding those who did not seek work after their last release and those for whom no answers were recorded for this question, this kind of work was sought by 131 out of 132 men.

Anderson's (1, 2) investigations of the pre-World War II population of homeless men revealed the two sub-types of the "homeguards" and the "migrants". The latter were (or, during the Great Depression, vainly desired to be) active members of a seasonal labour force, both in the cities and in non-urban areas, while the former were either unable or unwilling to seek this type of work. As Dunham (27), Plunkett (73) and others have pointed out, however, the homeless men on Skid Row tend now to be almost exclusively non-mobile, and the image of the migrant labour force being made up of homeless men was apparently a phenomenon peculiar to the 1920s and '30s. In fact, other writings of Anderson (1, 2), Sutherland and Locke (100), Dunham (27) Solenberger (90), Ribton-Turner (79), Mayhew (58), and others, would all suggest that the homeless alcoholic, along with the physically and mentally handicapped and chronic mendicants, comprise a population that either can't or won't work.

Our population of C.D.O.s would appear largely to fit the description of the "homeguard" as presented by Anderson (1,2) and more recent investigators such as Bogue, (13), LoCicero(51) and Bain (8), although, as we have suggested throughout, some of the younger members of the sample, especially those from the Maritimes, originally arrived on Skid Row as migrants seeking employment in the city of Toronto. Moreover, what migrant seasonal work is engaged in by C.D.O.s is undertaken primarily by the younger men who are still marginal to Skid Row and the C.D.O. pattern.

The evidence suggests that migrant seasonal work, if it occurs at all, comes at an earlier stage in the work histories of the C.D.O.s, i.e., during the pre-C.D.O. (although not necessarily pre-homeless or pre-Skid Row) or incipient C.D.O. period. The so-called "geographic cure" mentioned by Jellinek (43) - the practice of changing the physical and

social setting in the prospect of this having a salutary effect on drinking problems - often coincided with seasonal employment and also occurred prior to the individual's becoming a confirmed C.D.O. Bona fide Skid Row seasonal work appears to be limited to shovelling snow in the winter and mowing lawns in the summer, since little migratory work is sought and in the rare cases where it is found, it is usually short-lived because the C.D.O. is often sidetracked by his drinking sprees before ever reaching the place he set out for.

Another employment activity which is frequently undertaken by these men is house painting, and a few men have established a reputation as relatively reliable short-term workers in this line. Because of their sporadic pattern of working, this "regular" work is usually performed for contacts established in custody, hospitals and charitable institutions. Somewhat on the same basis, some C.D.O.s have opportunities to do heavy house cleaning. The arrangements in such cases appear to be effective and satisfactory to both parties. For the employer, the work is adequate and considerably cheaper than could be obtained from other sources, and for the C.D.O. the contact is conveniently and effortlessly established and the job relatively short in duration.

Other work sought includes day labour for cartage firms and small contractors, gardening and distribution of handbills. In fact, two-thirds of the C.D.O.s sampled seek jobs which involve work out of doors. Much of this work is obtained through the "curb labour market"[7] and hence tends to be rather haphazard and sporadic.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of these employment arrangements is the mutual accommodation of the employer and the employee: the C.D.O. knows the job is temporary and the boss recognizes that he may quit at any time. In fact, the short duration of these jobs is so accepted a pattern that a C.D.O. who on occasion will keep a job for several weeks establishes an enduring reputation for being a stable worker. Most employers, moreover, recognize that these men are not bona fide painters or gardeners, etc., and that the arrangement is not to be viewed on a purely economic basis, but

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[7] A system where the men looking for work stand on the sidwalk at certain designated and established locations, and employers looking for casual day labourers hire them there.

rather partly as a way of "helping out". Indeed, an employer who offers pay approaching the regular market rate may actually be considered extravagant by the C.D.O.s, who themselves recognize the instability of the arrangement.

Let us consider, for a moment, the function of the kind of casual and seasonal work activities that the C.D.O.s engage in. The claim made by Dunham (27) and others that homeless men provide the larger society with a ready supply of casual day labour would seem to pertain to the chronic drunkenness offender group. However, since many of the C.D.O.s actually do very little work of any kind, other segments of the homeless or transient population must be helping to meet such demand as exists, as Bogue suggests (13),

It should be noted that virtually all of the specific activities performed by the homeless men, such as janitoring, window cleaning, gardening and painting, are also performed on a regular contract basis by organized work crews. Bogue (13) suggests that the difference between an organized stable system of employment to meet this type of work demand and the pattern which utilizes homeless men is that the latter must be explained primarily in exploitative terms. The exploitation itself is two-fold, both economic and social, according to Bogue. In the first place, the homeless men simply constitute cheap labour, and in the second place, employers are said to manipulate the living situation of the homeless men, for example by paying them partly in vouchers redeemable only at Skid Row establishments, in order to accommodate their own financial ends. Though the first-mentioned form of "exploitation" may apply in Toronto where employers probably "capitalize" on the poor work record of the C.D.O.s to pay them low wages, there is little evidence to suggest that there is any active manipulation of the social situation of the C.D.O.s apart from the indirect lure of the charitable institutions serving Skid Row.

Our observations suggest that the relationship between Skid Row men and their sometime employers, as with the charitable and service institutions serving Skid Row, may be described as symbiotic or "functional" in the Mertonian sense. That is, the sporadic and unstable character of the work arrangements appears to suit the needs of the C.D.O.s themselves, who, because of their drinking habits, seem to be unwilling or unable to commit themselves to more permanent employment obligations.

Table IX - 22 shows the methods employed by the chronic drunkenness offenders in seeking work both currently and following their last release from incarceration. Unfortunately, strict comparison cannot be made between the two columns since the information contained differs in certain important respects. While the "last release" category refers to a particular occasion or situation in which the C.D.O. sought work, the "current" category constitutes an assessment of the main or usual source or method utilized by the C.D.O. to find work. There is a probability of 67 per cent that the method used to find work following last release was the same as that generally used by each C.D.O.; however, this still leaves a wide margin for different methods to be employed on different job hunting occasions.

TABLE IX - 22

C.D.O.S' METHOD OF SEEKING EMPLOYMENT

Source or Method	Current N	Current %	Last Release N	Last Release %
Nat'l. Employment Service	56	24.6	52	22.8
Canvassing	30	13.1	34	14.9
Curb Labour Market	28	12.3	17	7.5
Non-Skid Row (Social) Contacts	23	10.1	24	10.5
Official Referrals	20	8.8	9	3.9
Newspaper Ads	15	6.6	2	.9
Others	3	1.3	-	-
Don't (didn't) seek work	40	17.5	81	35.5
N.A.	13	5.7	9	3.9
Total	228	100.0	228	99.9

Excluding those who did not seek work at all, the rank order of the methods of finding work is similar for both last release and general custom with the exception that the categories of "curb labour markets" and "non-Skid Row contacts" were reversed, such that the C.D.O.s were somewhat more likely than usual to have used non-Skid Row

contacts in order to find work at the time of their last release. This phenomenon is partly due to the fact that prisoners frequently arrange to work for or to be referred to a job by members of the staff of custodial institutions. Nevertheless this finding is somewhat difficult to interpret since it seems to suggest some degree of alienation from the Skid Row society or, alternatively, integration into the larger society, but it does serve to underline the fact that the two are in concrete terms quite permeable and inter-penetrated.

The categories for not working in Table IX - 22 are not comparable for the two columns, since in the case of the "current" or general method of seeking employment, a C.D.O. who almost never worked would have been assigned to whatever category of work source he had ever utilized, while in the case of the last release situation, which has a specific time reference, he may simply not have sought work at all and therefore would have been assigned to the category of "don't (didn't) seek work." Nevertheless the findings indicate that during the specific period of time of one term of freedom fully 35.5 per cent of the C.D.O.s did not look for work. Over a longer period of time encompassing several periods of freedom during two years, however, the group not seeking work is only half that size (17.5%).

That the public employment service is the most common source of employment references is accounted for partly because eligibility for certain public welfare services, such as food and accommodation, was at the time contingent upon application to the National Employment Service (now Canada Manpower) office. It should be noted, however, that continued use of these public services did not depend upon obtaining a job, only in applying for one.

Canvassing, which is the second most prevalent method of finding work, consists of a pattern of going from door to door in residential and business sections requesting casual labour by the hour or day.

Thirdly, the curb labour market referred to here is the system whereby the men looking for work stand on the sidewalk at certain designated and established locations, such as Sherbourne and Queen Streets or Spadina Avenue and Queen Street, and employers seeking casual day labourers hire them there.

Fourthly, "non-Skid Row Contacts" refers to the practice of soliciting friends, relatives or previous employers, usually only for casual labour. However, once a man has become an inveterate C.D.O., opportunities to obtain employment from previous employers or relatives and friends tend to be severely limited. The C.D.O.s lack both the formal and the informal contacts that might facilitate employment. Moreover, because of their tarnished work reputation a reciprocal process of rejection and alienation eventually prevents either party from even considering an employment arrangement.

The "official referrals," which make up 8.8 per cent of the general means of seeking employment, include social welfare agencies, after-care agencies for ex-prisoners, custodial staff and hospital and clinic referrals. In many cases, as we mentioned earlier with reference to the kinds of work obtained, contact with such official sources of referral is made while the C.D.O.s are still incarcerated.

When we consider the chances of actually finding work when the above-mentioned methods are employed, some interesting features are revealed. In the overall picture, we find that only 66.2 per cent of those who sought work after their last release (94 out of 142) actually obtained it. At that, employment did not appear to have been especially planned or systematic from the C.D.O.s' point of view, since 18 of those who obtained work subsequent to discharge had not even intended to look for it at the time of release. We also found that the C.D.O.s who sought employment on their own initiative, by canvassing or the curb labour market, were more likely to have found work ($p < .01$), but that these men worked shorter periods than those who obtained employment through formal or informal assistance ($p < .001$).

We also investigated the C.D.O.s' own interpretation of their employment opportunities. In answer to the specific question "What hampers you in getting the kind of work you would like to do?" (Note that a preceding question established that this is work he can actually do), the C.D.O.s gave a variety of explanations which seem to have considerable validity (Table IX - 23). To begin with, those who pleaded ill health and old age were usually justified in their claims, according to independent medical assessment of their physical condition. While the excuses of lack of qualification and lack of control over drinking may contain an element of rationalization, these same men often referred to actual negative employment experiences attributable to such personal factors. When we consider their

lack of marketable employment skills, there is also considerable justification for their blaming the employment situation itself - the most commonly mentioned reason for difficulty - since the urban job market for the most part does not permit them to utilize what few skills they may have.

TABLE IX - 23

RESPONDENTS' REASONS FOR DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING WORK

	N	%
Employment situation (lack of jobs, drop in seasonal and casual work, etc.)	41	18.3
Lack of qualifications (poor reputation, no union cards or license, etc.)	36	16.1
Lack of control over drinking	31	13.8
Too old	26	11.6
Poor health	24	10.7
Others	34	15.2
N.A.	32	14.3
Total	224	100.0

This applies especially to those young men who have migrated to Toronto from non-urban areas and whose skills acquired in primary industries are not applicable in urban secondary and tertiary industries. Consistent with this interpretation is the additional finding that those men who blamed the general employment situation or their inadequate work qualifications were much more likely to have worked following last discharge from jail than those attributing their difficulties to old age, ill health and excessive drinking ($p < .001$). Moreover, those C.D.O.s who blamed their old age and ill health were assessed as having the poorest prognosis for rehabilitation ($p < .01$). Again we find some substantiation for Anderson's (1, 2) distinction between the willing and able "migrant labourers" and the derelict and immobile "homeguard" on Skid Row.

Table IX - 24 shows that during the month preceding their current incarceration, over one-half of the men in the sample (56.8%) did not do any work. For those who worked at least once during this period, the mean number of days was 8.0 with a median of 6.3. Only 22 men worked 15 or more days during this one month period while 53 men worked 7 days or less. For the 126 men who did not work during the month preceding their present incarceration we find that 28 had been arrested in less than 24 hours after their last release. This group evidently began drinking within a few hours of discharge and had had no opportunity and/or desire to work. Looking at the work record of the C.D.O.s after their last release we find a similar picture to that for the one month preceding current arrest. Either the time between last release and present incarceration approximates one month (74.9% of the 224 C.D.O.s answering were "outside" for a period of 30 days or less), or regardless of the time outside of prison, the work periods are relatively standard in length. Probably both of these interpretations of this coincidence are valid to a considerable degree.

TABLE IX - 24

C.D.O. EMPLOYMENT FOR ONE MONTH PERIOD PRIOR TO CURRENT ARREST

Employment	Number	Percent
None	126	56.8
Less than a full day	12	5.4
One day only	6	2.7
2-3 days	15	6.8
4-7 "	22	9.9
8-15 "	17	7.7
Over 15 days	22	9.9
N.A.	2	.9
Total	222	100.1

Another 11 C.D.O.s who had not worked in the month preceding current arrest stated that they were physically incapable of working. This finding is particularly interesting since the medical examination of this sample diagnosed 19 men as permanently unfit for work and another 10 who required significant therapy to become fit. The suggestion is that some men - at least 18 - who are supposedly incapable of work are actually seeking, and moreover finding, employment. Direct observations revealed that a number of those classified as physically unemployable participants fully in the rather demanding and physically rigorous lifestyle of the Skid Row men, including walking several miles each day and being exposed to the extremes of weather.

On the other hand, of the 87 men who were not prevented from obtaining employment for health reasons, 20 claimed to have sought work unsuccessfully. The remaining 67 were judged fit to work and were out of jail long enough to look for work, but neither sought nor found it.

The most obvious reason for not working, as we suggested, is being in jail. However, many of the men actually work in jail where they are 'regulars' on the work crews. Chapter VI of this Study (The Jail) points out that 53 per cent of the C.D.O.s had regular jobs in jail and an additional 21 per cent did work but had no regularly assigned positions - this despite the fact that they receive no money for working in jail and only 7 cents a day as an inmate of the Reformatory. Money plays almost no part in the custodial life except to purchase tobacco in jail (although tobacco is issued free in other institutions) or to pay fines to lessen the term of incarceration by a few days. Both these occurrences are infrequent for the C.D.O.s.

Observations indicate that these men who work are in better health and work harder than the men who do not work either in custody or outside.

Most chronic drunkenness offenders have a reputation amongst custodial staff as being extremely conscientious and enthusiastic workers, and the C.D.O.s in turn are often informally rewarded for their efforts by receiving better and more food, cigarettes from the staff and more privileges and freedom. Moreover, those C.D.O.s who are regularly assigned to specific work crews in the jail are rated as being the best prospects for rehabilitation ($p < .01$).

However, the C.D.O.s' working habits in jail appear to be relatively distinct from their behaviour on the outside. In the first place, we note that those who regularly work when in jail are neither more nor less likely to work on the outside than those who do not work in jail. Moreover, an analysis of the relationship between the length of time outside (after last release) and the amount of work done during that time shows that no statistically significant association exists here either. That is, the C.D.O. who was at liberty for a longer period was no more likely to have worked than the C.D.O. who was free for a shorter period (excluding those who had been free for less than 24 hours). A qualification to these generalizations is provided by the unsurprising finding that the C.D.O. who is discharged from custody with no money is more likely to undertake employment then the man who is released with money ($p < .01$).

Though incarceration may be an important obstacle to regular work on the outside, it does not hold, as might be expected, that steady or regular work is a significant deterrent to arrest for the confirmed drunkenness offenders. In fact, we found no significant difference in the duration of the time interval between last release from jail and present incarceration with respect to the different "productive" categories. That is, a C.D.O. whose primary gainful economic activity was legitimate work was unlikely to remain out of jail any longer than the person who begged, stole or did not work at all. However, we also found that the C.D.O. who did not work after last release was likely to have had a greater lifetime number of convictions for public intoxication ($p < .02$). It is probable that this finding is substantially influenced by the factors of age and/or health which have been shown previously to be related ($p < .01$ and $p < .05$, respectively) to amount of work done, but it also might be true that veteran offenders eventually give up the search for work altogether.

Lack of control over drinking was a reason often given by the C.D.O.s for their not working, as we mentioned earlier. The relationship between working and drinking is not a simple one, however, for a few of the men also blame lack of work opportunities for their excessive drinking. When asked why they drank heavily, 38 (24.2%) of those answering this question referred to the lack of employment and an equal proportion (24.8%) offered this as the reason for other C.D.O.s' excessive drinking. Yet only one (3.5%)

of 29 C.D.O.s gave lack of work as his reason for drinking after leaving Brookside Clinic, 8 out of 103 (7.8%) mentioned this reason for drinking following discharge from the A.G. Brown Clinic, and no one (of 40) blamed unemployment for return to drinking following treatment at the Salvation Army Harbour Light Clinic. Nineteen men (8.7%) gave lack of employment as their reason for returning to drink after their last abstinence, while 24 men (10.3%) gave this as the reason for beginning to drink after their last discharge from incarceration. Interestingly enough, there is only a partial overlapping of these responses in terms of specific individuals. Also, it is noted that these figures bear little relationship to the number who actually worked after their last release from jail.

The relationship between working and drinking is an intricate one because the two patterns of behaviour, the one "productive" and the other "consumptive", seem to be mutually exclusive and yet interdependent. Working and drinking are alternative organizing principles for the chronic drunkenness offenders' use of time and personal resources. That is, work appears to introduce a particular structure into the daily life of the C.D.O.s. Thirty-two of them (14.0%) stated that they had a daily plan of activities only when they were working, while another 40 (17.9%) referred to having such a plan when and if they were looking for work. If a C.D.O.'s life is not structured around and by work, it is a virtual certainty that it will be structured around drinking and obtaining alcohol, often with panhandling or stealing as a means to that end.

Because of the uncontrolled nature of their drinking, working is essentially incompatible with drinking for these men as they themselves recognize. In fact, 5 C.D.O.s (2.2%) gave "looking for work" as the main reason for their last abstinence, and another 26 (11.3%) gave working as the main reason for their having stopped drinking. We also found that the C.D.O. who displayed a period of abstinence immediately following release from jail was more likely to have worked than the C.D.O. who did not have such a period of abstinence ($p < .02$). Certainly related to this finding is the fact mentioned earlier that the C.D.O. who is discharged from custody with no money is more likely to work than is the man who is released with money ($p < .01$), and that the C.D.O. who has funds at the time of discharge is more likely to begin drinking first ($p < .01$). However, we also found that neither the length of the drinking spree

nor the daily alcoholic intake during the period of drinking was related to whether a C.D.O. worked or not. When the spree begins, then, seems to be related to whether or not the C.D.O. had to work in order to buy the first drink, but once the binge has begun, it will run its course regardless of what means, legal or illegal, the C.D.O. must employ to finance his drinking.

One interpretation of these observations is that working and drinking constitute two more or less distinct phases of the life of the C.D.O. on the outside. It would appear that four basic patterns exist with respect to the relationship between drinking and the termination of employment. The first involves the C.D.O.'s quitting a job when he wants to begin drinking. This pattern can occur whether the man was abstinent before beginning the job or merely stopped drinking once he began working. The second pattern occurs when the C.D.O. is drinking while holding a job, beginning either before or after starting the job; eventually the actual drinking and its associated activities takes precedence and so he quits the job. The third manner in which the job is terminated is that the C.D.O. is fired as the direct result of his drinking or his drink-related behaviour. Here again the drinking may have begun either before or after he began the job. The fourth pattern is somewhat different in that it involves the intervention of a policeman, who brings an end to the C.D.O.'s employment by arresting him for drunkenness. This last pattern is the only instance where the frequently iterated statement, "I would still be working if I hadn't been picked up," is applicable. The indication is, however, that in only a few cases does the enforcement of the public intoxication statute directly cause the C.D.O. to lose a job.

We noted earlier that whether a chronic drunkenness offender works does not significantly affect the length of time he is able to stay out of jail - although we would have expected the working C.D.O. to avoid arrest longer since he did not start drinking as soon as the non-worker. Actually we found that the longer a C.D.O. was out of jail the longer was the duration of his drinking ($p < .01$). Working, then, does not affect the length of the period of his freedom. The reason for this apparent anomaly is probably supplied by the C.D.O.s themselves who say that after abstaining while they are working, they tend to spree drink rather than drinking in a more controlled way over a period of time. This of course makes them more vulnerable to arrest on account of their visible intoxication.

In any event, whether the C.D.O. works or not, the period of freedom inevitably terminates in drinking and arrest.

Bain (8) and Bogue (13) both argue that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of drinking and the amount of work engaged in by Skid Row inebriates. Presuming that the more drinking a man does, the more money he needs for it, then if he does not work, he must get the money from charitable or illegal sources, or old age or veteran's pensions. The probability of success in tapping most charitable sources, private or public decreases with the amount of the drinking. Only pensions are not contingent upon acceptable behaviour or evidence of rehabilitation. Hence excessive drinking often results in illegal or criminal behaviour.

In summary then,there is an element of paradox inherent in the relation between working and drinking. On the one hand, without working, the C.D.O. may not have sufficient funds to permit him to drink unless he engages in other less socially acceptable economic activities, such as begging or stealing. But at the same time, it is the worker who has the money in hand to buy drink, whereas the non-worker must constantly stop drinking to go out and raise money.

These patterns of drinking and job termination mentioned earlier apply to the C.D.O.s in almost any living accommodation or situation, including private rooms, hotels or missions, rehabilitation centres or the homes of non-Skid Row relatives or friends. Each time the pattern recurs, it tends to be reinforced, leading ultimately to no work at all. This behavioural sequence is particularly characteristic of the man who imposes on non-Skid Row friends or relatives, since each abortive attempt at holding a job results in reciprocal alienation between the chronic drunkenness offender and his family and friends. As we mentioned earlier, the C.D.O. who has no contacts with family members is the least likely to have worked after his last release from incarceration ($p < .001$).

The relationship between working and drinking is not a simple one partly because of the social situation in which the C.D.O. drinks. That is, obtaining a supply of alcohol is more than a question of economics:

it also involves a complex set of social relationships and reciprocal favours and obligations. Rooney (83) observed that Skid Row winos drink in groups because such an arrangement allows these impoverished men to pool their resources in order to "raise the price" of a bottle. This pattern of purchasing is certainly the most common one observed among the Skid Row C.D.O.s we studied. Rubington's (85) observations that these men have an inability to procure a sufficient supply of alcohol or to choose their drinking companions is not consistent with our evidence which from interviews and from participant observation, indicates relatively little problem in obtaining an adequate supply of alcohol, except possibly on Sundays and holidays. This discrepancy between Rubington's and our findings is not so surprising, however, in the light of the fact that the Toronto Skid Row has a reputation among Skid Row men for being one of the most affluent in North America. Also, although there appears to be a certain degree of the indiscriminate drinking-partner selection that Rooney (83), Rubington (85) and others speak of, the C.D.O. does tend to gravitate to a certain geographic area and to drink in certain gangs.

To the extent that the C.D.O. is integrated into the heavy drinking subculture, however, he tends to be socially alienated from the legitimate work situation, although he may normatively accept the economic success goals of the larger society. To this extent, the C.D.O. pattern follows that blueprint for deviance suggested by Merton (62) and others where a discrepancy is perceived between valued goals and the individual's means of achieving these ends. The C.D.O.'s repsonses to this disjunction are, on the one hand, "retreatist" insofar as his behaviour is dominated by heavy drinking, and at the same time "innovating" to the extent that he engages in means of acquiring money alternative to legitimate work, for example, begging, stealing or living off charitable sources.

On the one hand, as we suggested, the C.D.O. seems to share the goals and values of the larger society in reference to work and monetary success, although we cannot discount the possibility that perceptions may have been selectively recalled and that reports may have been influenced by and edited for the approval of the interviewer. Nevertheless, when asked what they liked about their present way of life, no C.D.O.s included references to work or money, whereas in response to the question of what they

disliked, 35 (15.3%) C.D.O.s referred to the lack of money, 38 (16.6%) to the lack of work, and another 56 (24.5%) despaired of both. Thirty-four (14.9%) referred to periods of unemployment as the time when they feel lonely and another 21 (92%) said they felt lonely when they were without money.

When asked about their image of work in their immediate, long term and "imaginary" future, the C.D.O.s responded as follows. One hundred and forty-two (62.1%) stated that work was in their plans before their last release from incarceration, and 102 (44.6%) referred to finding work as a primary objective following conclusion of their present sentence.

Another question related to the chronic drunkenness offender's perception of his immediate economic future was whether or not he would undertake retraining for employment. One hundred and twenty-one men (54.0%) responded "yes", while 51 (22.8%) said "no" and 52 (23.2%) did not answer. This overriding affirmative and "conforming" response must not be taken literally, however. To begin with, there are several training courses availbale to the men which are not only free but where the participants are paid, and yet none of the C.D.O.s had enrolled by the time of the study and the one man who subsequently did so never attended a single class. Further, those who worked following their last release from jail showed no more inclination for further training than those who did not work, nor was there any significant difference between age groups on this question.

Turning to the C.D.O.s' projected and/or imagined economic careers, we again found a mixed picture, perhaps reflecting some ambivalence of attitude. When asked, "What would you do differently if you had your life to live over?", 129 (57.6%) of the men in the sample made no reference to preparation for work or economic security. But of those 86 (38.4%) who did, 26 (30.2%) referred to obtaining a better education, 38 (44.2%) to learning a trade or profession, 7 (3.1%) to owning a business and 5 (2.2%) to pursuing a career in the military services. In the more general area of habits and patterns of behaviour, 48 (21.4%) said they would try to work harder and/or more steadily, and 18 (8.0%) stated that they would try to be more careful with their money.

To the question "What would you ask for if you were told you could have three wishes granted?" fully 104 (46.4%) of the C.D.O.s included economic items in their first wish. Specifically, 53 (23.7%) mentioned stability or security of employment, 44 (19.6%) referred to making more money, and 7 (3.1%) wished for better education or occupational skills. Of the 88 (39.3%) who gave economic items as their second wish, 45 (20.1%) referred to stability of employment, 34 (15.2%) to making more money and 9 (4.0%) to better education. For the 70 (31.2%) who gave economic items as their third wish, 23 (10.3%) desired employment stability, 40 (17.9%) wished for more money, and finally, 7 (3.1%) wanted better job training.

It is interesting that for all three wishes, economic items were the most numerous and also were most often the first wish. On the face of it one might conclude that the importance the C.D.O. places on economic factors augurs well for rehabilitation. Actually, this would be a very hasty and substantially erroneous conclusion.[8] To begin with, earlier evidence indicated that the actual work activities of the C.D.O. are not only limited in quantity but are severely lacking in stability as well as rewards, both material and non-material. Further, when questioned about the conditions that would be required for their wishes to come true, the majority of the C.D.O.s could not or would not give an answer. These findings, along with those noted above, that the C.D.O.s had only ephemeral "plans" for education and job retraining, are consistent with Hochwald's (37) notion that this kind of man cannot adequately visualize the means to their goals. Those C.D.O.s who did volunteer an answer to the above-mentioned question tended to indulge in the somewhat circular reasoning that their economic wishes would come true if they could "get a good job" or "hang on to a job", or "if I could only control my drinking".

There is ample evidence, however, that these men are extremely unlikely to stop or control their drinking, even though independent evidence as well as the statements of some of the men themselves suggest that employment is not impossible to obtain despite their low level of work skills. Other than the decidedly handicapped, most of the C.D.O.s admit that they have been able to find work when they really tried. What is more difficult for the C.D.O. is to sustain the employment.

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[8] After continual enquiry and search over a period of several years, we have arrived at a total of only nine reported cases of recovery of bona fide Skid Row C.D.O.s. These cases extend over a period of approximately twenty years and all have achieved considerable acclaim amongst the Skid Row C.D.O.s (1965).

Most C.D.O.s give no evidence of having serious intentions of changing their present situations. Ninety-one men (39.8%) stated that they had no plans for altering their present way of life, while another 99 men (43.3%) did refer to some change but nothing related to changing their drinking behaviour or leaving Skid Row. Foreman's (31) interpretation of collective deviant behaviour in terms of the concept of "resignation" would appear to be relevant here.

We could anticipate the alienation of the Skid Row C.D.O. from the legitimate work situation simply on the basis of the fact that the costs seem to outweigh the rewards. Because the intrinsic satisfaction in the kinds of work they typically do is extremely limited and because, as we suggested earlier, the extrinsic rewards are also minimal, the work ethic in its traditional sense would seem to have only vestigial significance to most Skid Row C.D.O.s.

An important source of gratification normally derived from the work situation is the social relationships developed on the job which are carried over into informal social activities. For the drunkenness offender, however, this factor tends to be relatively inconsequential. To begin with, as the result of their general alienation from the dominant society, it is difficult for the C.D.O.s to affiliate and identify with non-Skid Row workers, and vice versa. Secondly, the transient nature of virtually all their employment activities precludes the establishment of sustained social and emotional relationships. Moreover, neither the C.D.O. himself nor the employer who profits from the absence of labour solidarity is sufficiently motivated to disrupt this work situation in which the men are relatively anonymous and atomized.

This alienation from the employment situation is clearly evident from a number of the C.D.O.s' responses that reflect affiliative activities at work. We found that a total of only 9 men participated in other activities besides work with their work associates, and only one of these referred to recreational activities which are not typical of Skid Row and which he engaged in with non-Skid Row fellow workers. For the other 8 men, drinking was the only informal activity they shared with their work associates and at that it involved primarily other Skid Row C.D.O.s.

None of the others of the 94 men classified as "workers" participated in shared recreational activities with men who were not habitués of Skid Row. Moreover, only 4 C.D.O.s (1.7%) do most of their drinking with work associates, and of these, 2 are marginal to Skid Row society and 2 are non-Skid Row.

In addition to the above-mentioned non-material deprivations in the C.D.O.s' work situation, we note the level of wages is markedly low. The average hourly earning for these men was found to be $1.22, which compares unfavourably with the lowest wage listed in official sources for the year 1961 in Toronto, the $1.66 received by labourers in the manufacturing industry. Still greater is the contrast to the $2.00 per hour average earnings of the Toronto construction labourers. In many respects, the actual work done by the C.D.O.s is very similar to both of these better paid activities, and yet, for the C.D.O.s there does not appear to be parity with these workers as to the amount of pay per unit work.

It is very difficult to make valid comparisons with the incomes of other alcoholic populations mentioned in the literature, since where the classifications and categories are comparable, the populations are usually dissimilar,[9] and where the populations are similar the classifications are incomparable. Nevertheless, Pittman and Gordon (72) found that their sample worked at jobs which paid in 1958 in Rochester, New York, approximately the same hourly wage as that received by the C.D.O.s in our sample. Our findings are similar to those of Bahr (6) who reports that Bowery men in 1966 were actually earning less than men with less education living on other Skid Rows a decade or more earlier. Bogue's (13) findings on Chicago in 1963 showed first, that the overall Skid Row hourly earnings approximated those of the C.D.O.s, although possibly a little less, and secondly, that the alcoholic derelicts did not fare any worse in terms of hourly wages than the Skid Row men who drank less.

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[9] For example, Pittman and Gordon (72) included in their sample incarcerated men who had had at least one conviction, at any previous time, for public intoxication, whereas our criterion for inclusion was three convictions for public drunkenness within the prior twelve month period.

In fact, Bogue reported that in the week preceding the interview the derelicts "earned" more than any other drinking category of men he studied.

Although exceptions to this overall interpretation may exist, it seems clear that the employment opportunities available to confirmed chronic drunkenness offenders are characterized by considerable deprivation. There is little if any intrinsic reward in the type of work they do, and in addition the social and material gratifications are extremely limited. The C.D.O. is aware of the prevailing wage scale as it applies to other workers but there is little if anything that he can do to reduce the disparity. Since the mutual acceptance of the differences between the Skid Row C.D.O. and the non-Skid Row worker simply reinforces this disparity, the Skid Row C.D.O. becomes the end product of an intense and protracted alienation process, and hence reversals or profound and enduring changes become increasingly unlikely.

It is unwise to draw inferences about the standard of living of the C.D.O.s from their wage levels alone, however, since it must be remembered that different alcoholic and non-alcoholic groups have different consumption patterns as well as varied sources of income which make direct comparisons of either productive or consumptive activities somewhat questionable, if not irrelevant. For example, many Skid Row persons, alcoholic or otherwise, derive items of food, clothing and shelter more or less regularly in free or subsidized form from charitable institutions on or connected with Skid Row. Moreover, they may also have supplementary sources of income, legal and illegal, which typically are not available to non-Skid Row persons. And finally, their pattern of alcohol consumption is largely collective, which makes any calculation of the disposable income available to individuals for purchasing alcohol misleading, if not entirely erroneous.

Undoubtedly one of the more important influences on the Skid Row chronic drunkenness offender's attitude towards work, then, is the relative productivity of other means of obtaining money, goods and services. In fact, there would appear to be a certain rationality in their reliance on illegal and charitable economic sources, since these outlets often yield greater returns than legitimate work.

For example, five to ten minutes of begging can be as productive as an hour's work, and a theft requiring only minutes may be even more profitable. Similarly, missions,

churches and public welfare agencies serving Skid Row are very undemanding and relatively lucrative sources of food, clothing and shelter, and even cash. Probably most significant of all is the social and normative encouragement that the C.D.O. receives from his Skid Row affiliates to engage in these alternative gainful activities. One of the key differences for the C.D.O. between regular legitimate work and their other quasi-legal and illegal gainful activities is that in the latter situations, the potentiality for friction with 'straight' employers over their uncontrolled drinking and attendant unreliability on the job is greatly reduced. In fact, the C.D.O.s seem to work most conscientiously and steadily in the situation where their productive activities are uncontaminated by their drinking habit, namely in jail. Furthermore, Hochwald's (37) contention that alcoholics prefer work involving creativity, independence, public contact, excitement and action is borne out to the extent that these transient economic activities permit the C.D.O. to work when he feels like it and drink when he doesn't.

Whereas steady working and drinking must be relatively separate activities, begging and stealing may be closely integrated into the drinking pattern itself: for example, many of the men must drink in order to muster the necessary courage and initiative to beg or steal. Accordingly those C.D.O.s with fairly extensive criminal records are much less likely to spend time at legitimate money-earning. In theoretical terms, these quasi-legal and illegal means of acquiring enough money to subsist may be regarded as "innovative" adaptations in Merton's terms (62) to the discrepancy experienced between culturally prescribed success goals and socially structured access to those goals; and, at the same time, in Cloward and Ohlin's (19) terms, as the expected responses to illegitimate opportunity structures available in the subcultural environment of Skid Row.

Although the comparative figures from the literature on C.D.O.s and Skid Row populations do not necessarily represent chronic or complete unemployment, they do suggest that considerable portions of these populations, including those who may be unemployable, must be more or less chronically unemployed. The corollary to this conclusion, then, is that substantial proportions of these populations must derive some income from other sources. Although Peterson and Maxwell (71) refer to working and "bumming" as the two main sources of income, they do not state the precise proportions. Other investigators including Bain (8), Bogue (13), LoCicero (51) and Pittman and Gordon (72) make

almost no reference to the illegal activities which are such prominent features of our Skid Row C.D.O.s. In fact, one might reasonably conclude from this literature that most Skid Row alcoholics indulge in little or no illegal behaviour and further that the physically capable derive all or most of their income from legitimate employment. This assumption is incompatible with the findings in this literature itself on the typical Skid Row alcoholics's way of life. More important for present purposes, however, is that it is inconsistent with our field observations and interview findings that illegal sources represent by far the largest area of the C.D.O.s' "productive" activities, with nearly 70 per cent of the men in the sample deriving most of their "regular income" directly or indirectly from illegal sources.

This oversight in the literature is somewhat surprising, considering that these authors typically describe the drinking behaviour of these men as "uncontrolled". Once a spree has begun, it is unlikely that the men would stop drinking in order to work to earn money to perpetuate the binge, and since these investigators also agree on the extremely short term nature of the employment undertaken by these men, it would seem even less probable that they would have earned and saved enough to last for an extended spree. In the unlikely event that this did occur, the Skid Row subcultural norm of reciprocity would undoubtedly result in rapid dissipation of the funds. Hence it would seem to be quite reasonable to expect that the Skid Row C.D.O. would engage in illegal and/or "parasitic" activities to supplement their unstable and meagre legitimate incomes.

ILLEGAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Of particular relevance in discussing the illegal economic activities of the chronic drunk is the information contained in the writings of Ribton-Turner (79), Anderson (1, 2) and Sutherland & Locke (100) for the past, and Peterson and Maxwell (71), Rooney (83), and Rubington (86) in terms of the present. These authors all point out the involvement in illegal activities and especially the particularly popular indulgence in panhandling, or begging.

Though details on the criminal activities of the chronic drunkenness offenders in our study are to be found in Chapter X - a few general points are of interest here as they pertain to the C.D.O.s' means of seeking a livelihood.

The data indicate that 61.8 per cent of our sample have been recorded as having committed at least one criminal offence. Following Giffen's (33) argument that criminal statistics systematically underestimate the actual prevalence of offences committed, we may safely speculate that the rate of criminal deviance for our sample is in reality even higher than this figure suggests. Even so, this estimate is markedly higher than the 37.2 per cent reported by Pittman and Gordon (72) and somewhat greater than the 59.2 per cent recorded by Blacker and Kantor (10).

Further, our data suggest that involvement in criminal activities may be integrally related to integration into Skid Row and the chronic drunkenness pattern, since those C.D.O.s who have been arrested for petty or serious criminality also exhibit a higher rate of offences for drunkenness. That this criminality is motivated by a desire to sustain a way of life that involves a relatively costly drinking habit is suggested by the fact that a clear majority of non-drunkenness crimes recorded for the C.D.O.s are gainful offences: 327 of the 580 indictable offences committed by the total sample were in this category, which is twice as large as the next largest category, crimes of violence.

Begging

Begging is the largest single source of money for the chronic offender, and is also by far the most common method used to get it. In our observations, we have yet to encounter a C.D.O. who has not indulged in some form of begging.

Amount of Begging. - Begging is the primary or dominant form of "productive" activity for one-half of our sample group of C.D.O.s (Table IX - 19). In addition, the other half indulges in begging to some extent. The criminal records indicate that 49.4 per cent of the sample had had one or more convictions for "Vagrancy 'B'" (the Criminal Code offence for begging) in the period covering the 6 years immediately prior to our investigation. Considering both the conservative nature of criminal statistics and the relatively short time period, it is clear that begging is a very prevalent activity for C.D.O.s.

At one extreme are those chronic drunkenness offenders whose sole source of money is begging, although they will obtain goods and services from such places as missions. Their begging tends to be indiscriminate in that they will beg when drunk or sober, at any time of the day or night, anywhere (that is, any geographic, social or economic area, although most especially in the downtown areas) and from anybody (except uniformed policemen). Even for this group, however, some concern for safety and discretion in selecting a good time, place and "mark" is evident, at least when they are sober.

At the other extreme are the occasional beggars. They are likely to beg only when they have first lost their inhibitions after a few drinks or when they are suffering 'withdrawal' symptoms and their need is great and immediate.

Techniques of Begging. - The previously popular "Buddy, can you spare a dime for a cup of coffee?" is not used often by the Skid Row C.D.O. He has a variety of "eliciting" statements and sometimes concocts a plausible hard luck story. Some of the more frequently employed "lines" include:

> I just got in from ...(beggar usually gives the name of a distant community, but sometimes just refers to a province or region) and I'm trying to get the price of a meal (or bed).
>
> I've got the promise of a job out in ... (names a part of the city which is too far to walk to) but I need transportation. Can you help me out? (This pitch sometimes results in the donor giving the beggar a street car ticket, which is readily convertible).

Some Skid Row C.D.O.s have no reluctance in appealing to the potential donor on the basis of needing a drink. Hence this approach:

> Man, I'm really in tough shape this morning,
> Could you help me get straightened out?

This is often embellished with some additional remark referring to the necessity for the C.D.O. to get himself in better condition to fulfill some legitimate commitment (e.g. welfare official or employment contact).

Although the stories are varied, certain characteristics are common. One feature is a play on the sympathy of a potential donor; another is an aura of legitimacy; and finally the appeal is almost always for a nominal sum of money ("anything will help").

To the basic appeal are frequently added verbal and/or visual embellishment. The verbal additions include references to being hungry, having no place to spend the night, really wanting work ("I'd stop drinking if I got a job") or having a hungry family. The visual gimmicks include walking sticks or canes, bandages, and worn and torn clothing and shoes.

The main factor governing the begging behaviour of the Skid Row chronic drunkenness offender is his own personality. Thus, there are aggressive and passive beggars, there are those who use an emotional approach, and others who use a controlled, intellectual technique. Some beggars find no value conflicts in this behaviour while others can only beg after consuming alcohol.

The typical begging pattern is of relatively short duration so that any attempts to arrive at a rate of "productivity" is difficult. However, the best estimate would indicate that the price of a bottle (75 cents at the time of the field work) is raised in approximately 20 minutes of steady activity. Since the begging activity will cease (at least temporarily) after the price is raised, any projection of this "75 cents in 20 minutes" rate to an hourly or other longer rate is purely an intellectual exercise.

Behaviour Patterns.- There are a few basic patterns of behaviour relative to the "begging-drinking" relationship. Some C.D.O.s seem to prefer raising the price of a bottle on their own, even though they almost invariably share the contents with others. However, most prefer the practice of "going in" on a bottle which involves two or more of them "piecing" the price by everyone contributing whatever he can.

Another pattern is based on the prevalent norm of reciprocity. If a worker has his pay or a pensioner or welfare recipient has his cheque, he buys and shares his bottle with others. When these sources are not available, the "regular" beggar supplies the price. This norm of reciprocity probably contributes to the high prevalence of begging in two ways. First, even those who are reluctant to beg feel compelled to do so when other methods of raising funds are not available. Second, this established social norm provides any C.D.O., including the newcomer or the marginal C.D.O. with a sub-culturally endorsed rationalization for begging, if one is needed. The result of this behaviour is a reasonably equitable contribution of each C.D.O. to his share of drinking. The Marxian dictum of contributions "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" tends to equalize resources regardless of the dominant source of funds.

Although the duration of a begging episode is simply long enough to raise the price of one bottle, there are occasions where this pattern changes. In the case of a group, begging for the price of more than one bottle can be either deliberate or accidental. Where it is deliberate, the group decides in advance to raise the price of a specific number of bottles, the number depending on the number of C.D.O.s involved and the planned method of

drinking. The two most frequently observed patterns are 'holing up' which involves settling down in a room or a secluded public spot for a drinking session lasting from a few hours to several days; or the fast hit or 'quickie'. Actually the practice of purchasing and consuming more than one bottle at a time occurs relatively infrequently and usually involves three to four men at the most and about the same number of bottles.

There appear to be a number of reasons why drinking groups or "bottle gangs" (this does not include drinking in rooms, etc.) only infrequently beg the price of more than one bottle and then of no more than a few bottles. One reason is the transiency of their inter-personal contacts. Over the course of a given period of days, a C.D.O. may spend a great deal of time in the company of certain other C.D.O.s. However, this association is very intermittent and the transciency of the bottle gangs is a good illustration of this instability. Another explanation for the limited size of the bottle gang and duration of "begging for the price" activity concerns vulnerability to arrest. The larger the number that are begging and the longer the begging persists, the more conspicuous the activity becomes. It should also be noted that the larger the group, the greater the vulnerability to police attention. In addition, there is some evidence of a desire on the part of the participants themselves to keep the group small in order to avoid the internal friction and tension that larger numbers typically appear to produce.

Finally, evidence of the willingness to delay gratification which is absent from most of the C.D.O.s' behaviour is very clearly illustrated by their inability to postpone their drinking when on a spree. Thus begging is very rarely a "collective" activity, and when it does occur in this manner it involves a small number of C.D.O.s and lasts a relatively short period of time.

In the event that collective begging has raised something in excess of the exact price of a certain number of bottles, the C.D.O. who happened to be the last to "piece in" his "earnings" will be the one left with the change.

Observations and interview statements suggest that this occurs regularly except in two instances: namely, where a C.D.O. (typically a newcomer) is excessively

zealous in contributing first, or where a person "holds back" (more typical of certain old-timers). Both forms of behaviour indicate that these men have incompletely internalized the sub-cultural norm of reciprocity, and both are frowned on, with the latter being the object of negative sanctions if chronically indulged in. These negative sanctions, which generally consist of efforts to exclude the culprit from participation in bottle gangs, are not invoked, however, if the C.D.O. with the change pieces the price of the next bottle.

It should be mentioned that this collective pattern of begging has two major concomitant effects on the C.D.O.'s behaviour. One is that it lends continuity to his drinking whether with the same individuals or not, the other that it tends to result in almost exclusively collective drinking.

Begging more than the price of one bottle.- When an individual begs more than the price of one bottle, this behaviour could be part of either of two basic drinking patterns. He could be one of that small number of C.D.O.s who do a considerable amount of drinking alone. An actual observed case will illustrate this pattern:

> Alfred Markham was living in a "flop", with his room rent, food, and tobacco just covered by his pension. He was physically incapable of work and, based on his employment record, would not have worked even if he hadn't been so incapacitated. His daily begging routine (when he drank alone) was to leave his room around 9 a.m. and travel one of several routes to the nearest wine store which was a distance of several blocks. Along the way he begged and invariably raised the price of two bottles before he arrived at his destination. Infrequently he was observed bumming a "square John"[a] or a "mark"[b] outside the wine store but usually he had made the price before he covered the full distance. Sometimes if he had raised more than the price of two bottles, he would continue and raise the price of three, but usually he would keep the change as a "starter" on the next round. This might be the same afternoon, or the following morning.

[a] Ordinary law-abiding citizen

[b] Person from whom they expect to get something.

This is an extreme case in several respects. First, Alfred Markham's physical incapacities necessitated almost a domiciliary existence. Second, his long standing alcoholism, physical deterioration and age had greatly reduced his tolerance to alcohol so that two bottles per day could sustain him. His regular income from his pension allowed him to drink in a relatively safe manner in his room, and finally, he had always been a "loner" on Skid Row, a pattern which makes for marked isolation in old age. However, he does represent one form of solitary begging for the price of more than one bottle.

The other occasion when an individual begs more than the price of one bottle is when he is planning to drink with someone else who has a room. The man who "raises the price" could also be the man who has the room, but usually this is not the case. The main reason for buying two or more bottles is not an obligation to the man with the room but rather that, in having a room the two can drink in relative safety and therefore for a longer period of time. There are usually no more than two men in these drinking sessions when the course of funds is begging. In contrast, inside drinking involves much larger numbers when the source of funds is other than begging. This is primarily due to the fact that begging is generally the method which involves the least amount of money at any given time, even though it is the largest source over a period of time for most C.D.O.s.

A particular form of begging that is almost incidental in terms of amount of money gained and frequency of occurrence, but which is highly significant in both social and psychological senses, is that involving a "recovered" or "recovering" C.D.O. and an "active" one. Rubington (85) describes the emotionally charged ambivalent nature of the situation where the "recovering" C.D.O. (in a Halfway House) is approached for a "touch" by the C.D.O. Since begging is so accepted a form of behaviour for the Skid Row drunk and since the expectation of reciprocity is well understood by both parties, refusal is a difficult course of action. At the same time, the C.D.O. attempting to "pull out", recognizes the danger of participating in any of the activities which are part of his earlier way of life. Thus an internal dilemma confronts the "recovering" C.D.O. with respect to begging. If he does "piece" the panhandler off, he will be upset by his own identification with the act and its underlying and attendant features that still exist, while at the same time he may be uncertain as to his "recovery" prospects and therefore unwilling to cut himself off from

his Skid Row associates by refusing to adhere to the reciprocity norm.

This phenomenon is particularly revealing in that it clearly displays the existence of the strong psychological and social forces that underlie the affiliations of the Skid Row chronic drunkenness offenders. These forces are basic to their identity as a sub-cultural group and must be accorded central consideration in any attempt to understand both their individual and collective behaviour. As they put it,

> We know the only way to 'break out' is to have no touch with the old crowd but it's tough. We know what the guy's going through when he puts the 'bite' on you. He probably wouldn't do it unless he really needed it - we all hope the guy's going to make it (referring to the C.D.O. who's trying to go 'straight'), but if you're sick enough - from withdrawal symptoms - you don't think about it or you don't care. I guess the only way is to be an S.O.B. and say no. The best thing is to stay away from this district (Skid Row).
>
> (Why don't more of you do that?)
>
> Christ, now you're asking it. Some guys have done it.[10] I guess we don't have enough willpower or something.

Other statements reflect the extreme alienation that has taken place, such as:

> What you can't stand are the four walls that you have for company (when they leave Skid Row). You have to make new friends - I know that - but it's not easy. So you go back. What else is there? I know its the end but that's the way it is.

This mixture of reality and rationalization with the undertone of pessimism and resignation is in most instances part of the end product of a protracted process. The extent to which it is present would appear to be related directly to the duration of exposure to this way of life.

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[10] A few names, which are repreatedly mentioned, have assumed almost legendary proportions on Toronto's Skid Row.

Begging as an economic activity of the C.D.O., then, is a universal source of funds, although it varies in extent and frequency for individuals. We also find that it is integrally related to drinking behaviour in a social, psychological and an economic way, and therefore takes a number of forms and patterns.

Theft

Theft is the second largest regular source of income for the chronic drunkenness offender on Skid Row, with 52 men (18.3%) deriving most of their income from it. This ranks it just ahead of gainful employment (Table IX - 19). In the 6 years immediately prior to this study, 51.6 per cent of the entire sample have been convicted for theft at least once. Moreover the number of convictions for theft offences has tended to increase with length of time the person has been involved in the chronic drunkenness pattern substantiating our hypothesis that acquisitive offences are related to the desire for alcohol.

Several factors influence the chronic drunkenness offender in his decision to steal and in the selection of the item to be stolen.

All of the chronic drunkenness offenders in our group appear to have encountered some early training in the basic code respecting private property. Adherence to the code obviously varies among different C.D.O.s and in different situations. Some of the men have had little difficulty in turning to theft as an economic activity while others, even after years of practising it, still find it disturbing to steal. These C.D.O.s typically drink before attempting the theft which not only gives them courage but perhaps influences their moral decision.

It is interesting to note that C.D.O.s accused of crime sometimes claim alcoholic (retrograde) amnesia. This is consistent with one of Washburne's (112) interpretations of alcoholic amnesia as representing "dissociated" behaviour. Data are lacking to pursue the obvious difficulties in interpreting this phenomenon as Armstrong (4) discusses it, but certainly we cannot reject the possibility that this explanation given by the C.D.O.s is merely a rationalization for behaviour which he may consciously dissociate from his value system.

Petty Theft.- Although prior to integration into Skid Row the C.D.O. may have engaged in more lucrative or serious crimes, currently he is chiefly involved in petty theft. This may be described as shoplifting or boosting and typically involves notions and confectionaries from smoke shops and drug stores; clothing, kitchenware and small household items from department stores; and foodstuffs from grocery stores. Other popular important settings for theft are cars and private homes; business offices rank far down the list.

The main specific motive in stealing is to get money for alcohol. If the money is used for other purposes, such as for a room or a meal, it is more than likely a residual benefit. Stealing appears to be as much a hand-to-mouth (or money-to-bottle) process as begging, occurring more frequently when intense craving or withdrawal is being experienced. When the C.D.O. pulls off a particularly lucrative "caper" he is likely to be the supplier of both alcohol and a room for as long as the money lasts.

Opportunities to steal fall into two categories: planned and spontaneous. The planned type of theft pattern is a relatively well-established routine for the old-timers who indulge in thefts on a regular basis. They have a pre-established modus operandi and also pre-selected objects in terms of stores and type of item. For the newcomer the act must be more deliberately planned: he not only has the psycho-social obstacles to overcome but has to execute a behaviour pattern that he has not yet learned. We have the impression that most of the stealing activities of the C.D.O.s are planned but that the planning is not long or involved.

Spontaneous stealing is often precipitated by an unforseen but seemingly fortuitous opportunity such as an item on the seat of an obviously unlocked car. A really "good go", that is, an easy or convenient opportunity, provokes a theft when the C.D.O. is relatively sober; when he is drunk an opportunity may seem to be a "good go" and lead to a theft which is in fact risky or difficult. The drunker the man is, the more likely he is to act without planning or concern for safety. Many C.D.O.s believe that a small amount of alcohol increases their skill at theft by causing them to "loosen up", i.e. to be less inhibited by fear. However, since most C.D.O.s are compulsive or "loss of control"-type drinkers, they do not stop at small amounts but get steadily drunker so that alcohol contributes more to their getting caught than to effective performance.

Another consideration affecting the decision to steal and the actual act of stealing is the disposability of the stolen goods. Although virtually all items are disposable through one channel or another, some are more easily disposed of than others or bring in greater amounts of money. Because they are easily marketed, such articles as cigarettes, hand tools, hardware, small appliances, pens and pencils, and small items of clothing such as socks, gloves and handkerchiefs are favoured by the C.D.O. These items not only find ready buyers in the owners of certain retail establishments, but are also sold directly to individuals who are approached in the street or in beer parlours.

Actually, the question of "fencing" or "dumping" stolen items is a matter of relative convenience since virtually anything can be disposed of with enough effort, even perishable food items such as uncooked meat and poultry. The booster's primary concern regarding the disposability of a stolen item is how readily it can be sold and for how much money.

Non-Petty Theft.- Even though simple shop-lifting is by far the most popular method employed by the C.D.O. in his gainful criminal behaviour, other forms do occur. Convictions for fraud were recorded for 41 (14.4%) of the C.D.O.s, but many of these were relatively minor infractions such as cashing a bad cheque. There was a definite indication that the probability of a C.D.O. engaging in such fraudulent practices increaseswith the length of time spent in the chronic drunkenness pattern. In contrast, robbery appeared on the records of only 7% of the sample and actually was found to decline in frequency with integration into the C.D.O. way of life. Indeed, these other forms of criminal activities generally involved either marginal C.D.O.s or men with a pre-C.D.O. history of crime. Even these somewhat atypical C.D.O.s do not habitually indulge in these more serious crimes. Moreover, the examples related to us in the course of the research were impulsive acts, involving no long-term planning, and were usually associated with disinhibiting and disorienting affect of intoxication.

A few examples of these more serious gainful crimes will illustrate the part played by alcohol and the relatively unpremeditated and usually inept nature of this activity, as well as the atypical characteristics of the C.D.O.s involved.

Case 1: Armed Robbery.

Joe Young is a 44-year-old, single man, born and raised in Toronto, who had spent most of his life on the fringe of illegal groups and had been a professional boxer in his youth and young adult years. Although a chronic drunkenness offender, he still retains some contacts with non-C.D.O.s who are, however, largely inhabitants of Skid Row. His father had led virtually the same kind of life before him.

While at a drinking session with a group which included Skid Row C.D.O.s, marginal Skid Row C.D.O.s and a few "professional" criminals, someone apparently happened to display a revolver. This led to conversation about robbery. "I don't really remember how I got involved to begin with but the next thing I know - Sam (a relatively unsuccessful professional thief) had talked me into joining him in this caper. I was all gassed up, I guess", Joe reports. As it turned out, this "caper" involved an armed holdup of a butcher store. Interestingly, both the victim and the police are of the opinion that the men might have been successful if they hadn't delayed their departure by attempting to rob the customers in the store.

For participating in this "caper", Joe Young was convicted and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for armed robbery.

Case 2: Break and Enter

Andrew Bates is a 42 year-old man born and raised in a small town in Southwestern Ontario. The family background was both socially and economically unstable. His police record shows serious offences beginning in his late adolescence. He attempted marriage, fatherhood and legitimate employment as a truck driver. However, excessive drinking and return to criminal activities resulted in his wife and children leaving him. From that point he gradually became more involved in crime and his drinking increased. At the time of this offence he was a C.D.O., but not a member of the hard core Skid Row group.

This man happened to enter the foyer of a downtown apartment building, trying to find a safe place to drink. On finding the inner door open he proceeded inside and then found the door of one of the front apartments open. The typical C.D.O. would be quite reluctant to enter a private dwelling and even this man was somewhat hesitant. As he put it, though, he needed the drink badly and thought he was too exposed where he was. Since he would leave in a minute or two he decided to chance it. After his first swig of the bottle, he glanced around the room partly unintentionally but also, according to his own statements, "to look around". Most of the items were either too large or of questionable value for "fencing". What he did set his eyes on, though, was what looked like a brand new encyclopaedia set. Apparently the intent to steal was only momentary at that point, for he left the apartment to look for someone to drink with.

As it turned out, he found a friend with whom he drank the original bottle and one more. They were now feeling pretty good, but had spent all their money and were trying to decide on their next course of action. This is the point at which Andrew decided to steal the encyclopaedia set, and he managed to talk his friend into helping him. They returned and found the same doors open and still no sign of anyone. Using the back entrance they managed to transport the volumes to a shed to the rear of the apartment and from there they carried them at a somewhat leisurely pace to the other man's room.

In this instance, the men were not caught, although it did take several days before they found a "fence" who paid them $80.00 for the item.

Case 3: False Pretenses and Forgery.

These offences were committed by George Malcolm, a 28-year-old single man who has an older brother who is also a C.D.O. They were both born and raised in a lower class section of Toronto and both had a history of delinquency and trouble with the law. The older brother had served two penitentiary sentences while George had served only shorter sentences.

These offences involved another man's credit card which Malcolm claimed he had found in the hallway of a rooming house. (The question of an additional charge of theft had been dropped by the police due to inadequate evidence.) He apparently used the card quite carefully for three weeks, although he did live "high" and bought clothes, etc., some of which he kept and the rest he sold. The factor that "tripped him up" was that his drinking, over time, gradually increased with two disastrous consequences. The most obvious effect was the deterioration in his physical appearance as well as in his dress, but equally damaging was the fact that he became more and more careless in the manner in which he used the credit card. Finally a suspicious clerk raised some questions. George panicked and tried to run away but was apprehended.

He was sentenced to 18 months (concurrent) for each offence.

Case 4: Robbery with Violence.

Bill Taylor, 53 years old, had a varied career of delinquency and crime, and drug addiction preceding alcoholism. His childhood was extremely disturbed and his own marriage and attempts at employment were futile. Most of his adult life had been spent in, or on the fringe of, criminal groups. Crimes involving violence or the threat of violence, were notable in his record.

This particular offence apparently occurred somewhat accidentally, arising from an ordinary drinking incident. Bill was drinking in a tavern (male section) when a waiter gave him a message from a lady friend who wanted to obtain some liquor from a bootlegger. When he went over to the women's section to tell herhe would try to help her out, he found her sitting with a well-dressed middle-aged man. The liquor was apparently wanted so that the two could retire to a hotel room. The woman had this stranger "pegged" as a "mark" and was probably

going to try to get him so drunk that he would pass out.

Hence, Bill managed to get two bottles of whiskey from a bootlegger and as it worked out, the three of them went to a hotel room to drink.

Apparently after they had drunk only part of the first bottle, the "mark" stated that he was going to leave. Neither Bill nor the woman could recall any action on their part to cause this apparent alienation and they didn't know whether he was frightened, bored, or disappointed. Nevertheless, they both disliked the thought of losing this opportunity at some easy money and so they began to coax him into staying a little longer and to having some more to drink. The harder they tried, the more resistant and reluctant the mark became. Finally, it reached the stage of physical violence between the two men, with Bill first trying to restrain the stranger physically from leaving, but then both men progressed to the fighting stage. With some nominal assistance from the woman, against whom the charge was dismissed, Bill managed to get the other man down and proceeded to beat him into insensibility. Then he and the woman took the man's money and jewellery and tried to leave the hotel, but the noise had aroused the suspicion of some other occupants who by that time had notified the clerk. Bill and the woman literally walked into the arms of the law.

Bill received a sentence of 3 years for the conviction on the charge of robbery with violence.

The men who commit these more serious gainful criminal acts appear to be a distinct subgroup of the chronic drunkenness offender population. Their background is one of extreme social and economic deprivation with early and frequently extensive histories of delinquency and crime. At the same time, they do not display certain distinguishing characteristics of the professional thief, such as specialized areas of competence, an established <u>modus operandi</u>, and differential associations on the basis of these skills. They tend to be migrants to Toronto more than the men convicted of drunkenness offences only (Chapter X).

Of the 65.9 per cent of the subjects who were migrant to Toronto, fully 65.2 per cent were serious criminals, 21.9 per cent were petty offenders, and only 12.9 per cent were pure drunks. Moreover, it was also the case that only a small minority of the serious criminal offenders had committed all their offences in Toronto, which suggests that neither criminal associations nor opportunities to engage in crime were the primary attractions of the city.

Despite variations, an overall pattern can be discerned in the C.D.O.s' illegal gainful activities. From the motive on, it is evident that their indulgence in crime relates directly to their drinking behaviour. The need to drink requires money but the drinking limits or even precludes getting it through legitimate employment. Through its disinhibiting effects, the drinking helps them get the money in other ways, or to make the attempt to do so.

A chronic drunk who is experiencing withdrawal may be strongly motivated to steal (to get more alcohol) but the performance of the theft itself will be negatively affected by his mental and physical condition and quite likely by his appearance. However, in another situation his drinking behaviour may be an asset to thieving. For example, when the C.D.O. has just been released from jail and has managed to get in on a bottle, his appearance is respectable and the small amount of alcohol not only disinhibits him so that he can perform efficiently, but it also stimulates the desire for more, thereby intensifying the drive to carry out the act of thievery. This "controlled" influence of alcohol on theft performance is relatively rare, however, occurring typically at the onset of a spree following discharge from custody. If the C.D.O. gets well into a spree from alcohol obtained through other sources (his own "saving", work, begging, someone else's alcohol, etc.) his theft performance will not display this particular pattern. In general, the influence of alcohol on theft performance is a detrimental one.

There is little doubt, too, that alcohol directly and indirectly influences the consequences and rewards of thievery. To begin with, chronic drunkenness offenders are particularly vulnerable to detection and apprehension, due not only to their usually inept performance, but also to their reputation amongst both law enforcement personnel and the staff of retail establishments. By the same token,

this reputation of being "boosters" usually results in a more certain conviction and a more severe sentence. While a "Square John" thief may get a suspended sentence, probation, or fine, the C.D.O. is extremely unlikely to be let off so easily. Nevertheless, he gets away with the theft many more times than he is caught.

If he manages a successful theft, the C.D.O. is again affected both indirectly and directly by his drinking behaviour. His low status in the eyes of his potential purchasers, whether members of the general public, legitimate retail merchants or "fences" means he is likely to get even less than the 1/3 price standard. Furthermore, his specific immediate condition directly influences the amount he receives, since the drunker he is the less he will be offered and the more likely he is to accept a ridiculously small sum of money.

In short, then, every aspect of the C.D.O.'s act of stealing - the motive, the perception of the opportunity, the method and the outcome - is governed by his drinking behaviour.

A final word about the C.D.O. criminal activity should be said in reference to a comparison with professional criminals. Sutherland's book The Professional Thief (99) describes how the profession of theft possesses certain characteristics common to all professions. A direct comparison of these features with the thievery of the C.D.O.s' shows only the most superficial resemblance. A chronic drunk generally lacks any real skill in stealing and even those who were professional thieves have lost most of their "touch" by the time they enter this new way of life. This relative ineptness is due not only to the debilitating influence of alcohol, but also to the fact that most C.D.O.s have no real "heart" for the activity. They would prefer to obtain money through other, legal or at least less risky, means. This is supported by Vander Kooi's (110) finding that Skid Rowers still subscribe to the prevailing social norms. While there may be an "apprenticeship" or training arrangement of some kind in the professional criminal group, no such concern is evident among the C.D.O.s. In fact, social incentives for the C.D.O. to perform criminal acts skilfully are, relatively speaking, quite weak.

A case in point is the lack of emphasis or importance placed on criminal performance by this population. The man who gets caught is not held in any lower esteem because of

his failure than is the man who is successful. There may be a temporary reaction on the part of other C.D.O.s if they were depending on him to provide the money for the alcohol, but only if they are experiencing the more intense "craving" such as that related to withdrawal. Except for the previously mentioned marginal criminal sub-group, there appears to be no evidence of individual and collective pride in being an accomplished criminal. Nor is there any greater or lesser value placed on "earning" money by illegal means in comparison to legitimate means.

Similarly, there is no "consensus" such as is described by Sutherland, with the C.D.O. population on the normative basis of criminal activity. No common set of attitudes and perceptions are held by all C.D.O.s towards criminal situations or acts. Most of the C.D.O.s who do not participate in criminal activities other than begging, are likely to perceive crime in much the same vague and ambivalent manner as those who regularly "boost" and steal.

Finally, the social organization of the C.D.O.s is not influenced by their activities in the criminal area or structured along the lines of criminal associations, with the possible exception of the numerically small marginal criminal sub-group. Actually, as long as they are even "marginal" criminals they are likely to be somewhat marginal with respect to other features of the C.D.O. pattern as are the marginal Skid Row and non-Skid Row C.D.O.s.

It is reasonable to conclude, then, that the involvement of the chronic drunkenness offender in criminal activities is spasmodic, precipitate, relatively incompetent, and relatively unproductive. Further, the behaviour tends to be non-social rather than anti-social, although we cannot necessarily rule out the possibility of some deeper feeling of "rebellious counter aggression" related to the alienation and exploitation as described by McKinley (61). However, the extremely passive and unpremeditated nature of their criminal activities would rather suggest an explanation in terms of utilitarian (related to drinking) and impersonal (related to psychological and social withdrawal) concerns.

OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Pensions and Welfare

Two other important sources of income for the chronic drunkenness offender are pensions and welfare payments.

Pensions.- Twenty-six men (9.1%) in the C.D.O. sample receive regular pensions, 20 (7.0%) of them from the Department of Veterans Affairs, 4 (1.4%) from the Old Age Security program and 2 (0.7%) from Old Age Assistance program. Interestingly enough, 6 more (2.1%) who are eligible for Old Age Assistance, for which one has to apply and submit to a means test, are not receiving it, either through ignorance or for some other reason. The average monthly payment for the D.V.A. pension is $56.50, ranging from under $25.00 to $120.00. The Old Age Security payment (which is automatic after age 65) was $55.00 per month and the Old Age Assistance, $58.00.

Not all 26 men receiving a pension derive the major portion of their funds from this source. The 6 who do not (2 old age pensioners and 4 D.V.A. pensioners) obtain more money from begging. The typical pattern for these 6 men is that they spend part of their pension money to pay some or all of their fines and spend the balance on alcohol, which is shared by others who in turn reciprocate when the pensioner's money runs out. Sometimes they spend all of it on alcohol, depending on how the date of their discharge from jail relates to the day they receive their pensions. In addition, these 6 men are generous in paying the fines of others; often they are even rather careless, for example, in paying room rent for a week and not using it or in getting evicted for obnoxious behaviour. The number who got into trouble in this way would have been considerably larger if some of the D.V.A. pensions had not been administered by the D.V.A. rehabilitation staff or other agencies.

It is difficult to establish whether C.D.O.s receiving a stable income are financially exploited in the sense that they contribute more than their share to the finances of the communal life of the Skid Row alcoholics. While this would appear to be true superficially, a more thorough examination suggests that the long-run balance of payments is fairly equitable.

For example workers and marginal criminals are just as likely to have large sums of money at any one time while even beggars, getting several dollars a day,, probably will have "raised" an equal amount over the course of a couple of weeks. The beggar makes money slowly and steadily, while the pensioner, worker and others make larger amounts relatively quickly.

Looking specifically at the 20 (7%) who live mainly on their pension income, we find that these C.D.O.s are much more likely to spend the money on themselves. They tend more towards a solitary way of life although they are not necessarily isolates, and a few of them are also more likely to have rented a room. These men tend to drink heavily but possibly not quite so compulsively as some of the other C.D.O.s.

In terms of actual spending, the pattern of the pensioner is similar to that of the worker in that they both tend to splurge until the money on hand is "blown". Then the beggar takes over, although this is not to suggest that these are mutually exclusive categories since the same individual may at one time be a pensioner, at another time a beggar, and on occasion a worker. However, we should note that it is the older C.D.O.s who are more likely to receive pensions, including those from the D.V.A. Hence it is not surprising that those receiving pensions are much more likely to be poor rehabilitative risks ($p < .001$). This means they are less likely to be fit for work, less likely to work and more likely to have had a drinking problem for a longer period of time.

Public Welfare.- The evidence suggests that another 20 C.D.O.s (7.0%) derive most of their usable income from public welfare sources. These include 15 men who receive monthly sums of $50.00 to $70.00 from the Municipal Department of Public Welfare and three who receive most of their cash income from rehabilitation funds. (This includes the provincial rehabilitation for the handicapped - one case - and retraining programs - two cases). This picture, based on an assessment of the total sample of C.D.O.s over a two-year period, is a composite one and does not mean that at any given time this finding will occur. However, the impression is that this is a reasonably accurate representation of the C.D.O.s receiving most of their money from this source.

One basis on which C.D.O.s can claim and receive welfare is if they have a permanent residence (usually a room) and are indigent and unemployed, but employable. The other basis is if they are indigent and unemployable as established by a physician. In the group of 15 C.D.O.s receiving public welfare 10 were in the former category while 5 were listed as "unemployables." It should be mentioned that staying in the Public Shelters is not included in this picture mainly because there are no actual cash monies involved. Also, living in these public settings has a self-limiting aspect similar to working, in that sooner or later (usually within a matter of days) the C.D.O.'s drinking will result in his eviction. Another limiting feature is the policy of certain accommodation establishments to allow only a certain number of days stay.

Because maintenance of a residence is necessary for a C.D.O.'s continued eligibility for welfare benefits, most C.D.O.s regularly pay their rent first before buying drink, food and other items. When the rent, usually amounting to $30.00 a month, has been paid, together with a few other expenses, some $20.00 to $30.00 remains which is rarely enough to last until the next cheque. This would apply even to the isolate C.D.O. such as Alfred Markham (p.103), so that almost all welfare recipients, like the pensioners, supplement their meagre incomes from other sources, usually begging and stealing, but very little (if any) work.

Analysis of the welfare group shows that the men have been rated as less hopeful for rehabilitation than some of the other C.D.O.s, being somewhat older, less fit to work, less likely to work, and drinking heavily for a longer period of time. To this extent, the pensioners are similar to the C.D.O.who derive their primary income from welfare sources.

Many persons in agencies and institutions which have contact with the C.D.O.s are under the impression that there is a relationship between "cheque day" and excessive drinking. The available data for the drunk court population do not support the contention that these men drink particularly excessively on the day they receive their cheque and for a few days thereafter.

The total court population shows no difference in the number of arrests (beyond sampling fluctuation) for the different days of the month. In addition, we analyzed the data on the basis of offence categories but still found no differences. Of course this does not conclusively disprove the impression, but the evidence does suggest that if drinking is enhanced by the distribution of welfare and pension cheques, it does not alter the rate of arrest for drunkenness.

Peddling

A few of the men in the sample derive considerable amounts of money from peddling; in fact three C.D.O.s (1.1%) were assessed as deriving their main supply of cash from this source. Such items as band-aids, needle kits, calendars and small kitchen items are peddled from door to door and even on the street. This economic activity is interesting from several points of view. It is a departure from straight begging as the pedlars themselves point out with some feeling, although it does not appear to affect materially the image that other C.D.O.s have of them. Peddling is not as legitimate a form of gainful employment as the C.D.O. and possibly some of the buyers would like to think. In many instances the pedlar does not complete a business transaction; instead he becomes the recipient of a "charitable" donation. On occasion one observes minor fraudulent features to this peddling activity (for example, non-Veterans selling Veterans' calendars) which are employed to enhance the charitable aspect of this activity.

Miscellaneous

The following sources of cash income do not represent major items in terms of total amounts of money gained, proportion of any individual's total income, or actual numbers of C.D.O.s involved. However, they are significant both as supplementary sources of funds and as they affect social status, self-identity and affiliations on and off Skid Row.[11]

[11] Bain (8) reports gambling to be a significant economic activity of some Skid Row persons. Our sample includes several men who made claims to engage in betting on the horse races, but further investigation revealed that these statements are almost always gross exaggeration or purely imagined activities.

Handouts and "Loans".- One such source of income is the infrequent handouts from relatives, non-Skid Row friends, ex-employees, etc. Sixty of our men had received such money in the past two years, in most cases (49 out of 60) in the form of having a fine paid. "Loans" (as the C.D.O.s euphemistically refer to all such transactions, even though the lender and the borrower know they are "gifts") of actual monies occur even less frequently than handouts and usually only in amounts of a dollar or two. Included in this category would be the monies from the non-C.D.O. alcoholic who comes into the Skid Row area when he is on a drinking spree and who contributes both drinks and cash to the C.D.O.s.

The more contact the chronic drunkenness offender has with relatives, friends, etc., the more money he receives from them; conversely, the more integrated he is in the Skid Row way of life, the less he will get from them. The evidence also suggests that relatives and friends are much more likely to contribute money when the C.D.O. is in jail or hospital than when he is out, particularly if he is drinking. However, the outstanding feature of this activity is the completely dependent "taking" role of the C.D.O. It would appear that an undesirable behaviour pattern is being reinforced in both the giver and the taker. Termination of this relationship is inevitable when the giver reaches a point of satiation where he feels justified in rejecting further demands and also aggrieved at the extensive "paying out period" without realization of success or reward. The C.D.O. in turn reacts to the final rejection with a feeling of self pity and injustice as well as feelings of guilt and remorse. It is quite evident that this complex of affects is hardly conducive to a realistic reconciliation, nor to the rehabilitation of the C.D.O. once these affective ties with non-C.D.O. groups have been severed.

Missions, etc. - Small sums of money are obtained irregularly from missions, churches, and social agencies. As might be expected, the money is given for other purposes than drink, since most of these sources will not knowingly contribute to drinking. Most of these institutions and agencies have had lengthy and unsatisfactory experiences with chronic offenders and consequently the handouts are both infrequent and small.

The C.D.O. also receives moneys from serving time for drunk convictions. The Department of Reform Institutions pays a daily stipend of a few cents per day in custody, and in addition, both the staffs of these establishments and those of the jails provide small "unofficial" amounts of money.

Unemployment Insurance.- Income from Unemployment Insurance is a very minor source of funds. The relatively small amount of work the C.D.O.s do is for extremely short periods of time, and hence insufficient credit is built up to warrant eligibility for this insurance. Moreover, much of the work is in settings where unemployment insurance is not involved, either because the Unemployment Insurance Act does not apply or because the employer does not wish to use it. Actually, this source is typically relevant only in the case of marginal-Skid Row or non-Skid Row C.D.O.s.

Bequests, etc.- The final type of income which should be included in the economics of Skid Row is infrequent but dramatic: namely, bequests, awards (e.g. for injuries) or the arrival of a "new-comer" with a "bundle". This type of financial boon occurs perhaps only a few times per year for the whole Skid Row C.D.O. population; the amounts rarely exceed a few hundred dollars, regardless of the particular form; and the total sum is usually expended within a week or two. Further, the larger the amount, the larger the number of people who are involved in its expenditure, which explains why the length of time that the money lasts is not related to the total amount of money involved. There also appears to be a direct relationship between the amount of money and the degree of extravagence which tends to contribute to limiting the duration of time that any amount of money lasts.

Borrowing.- When information on the source of income of the C.D.O. was originally elicited, a frequent response was "borrowing." This turned out to be an economic activity which actually amounted to the distribution and redistribution of money that had been obtained from one or more of the original sources already described. For example, a C.D.O. who happens to have money may make it available to other C.D.O.s in cash as well as in the form of a disproportional contribution to the group's purchase of alcohol.

This is another manifestation of the norm of reciprocity that has already been discussed. Virtually all C.D.O.s subscribe to this behaviour pattern of "lending" and "borrowing"among themselves. There is also considerable evidence that it is generally a very equitable form of reciprocity in the material sense. For example, the working C.D.O.s, and those on pension or welfare, lend money to the borrowers in other "source of income" categories. When the former's funds run out, the roles are reversed, with the borrower, who then obtains his monies from bumming and boosting, becoming the lender.

This description of the reciprocity norm is not intended to portray a rigid or invariable pattern, but rather a general system. As mentioned earlier, virtually all C.D.O.s beg and most steal on occasion. What is being suggested, on the basis of available information, is that there is a system of reciprocal interdependence of both goods(primarily alcohol, but also clothes, food, bed, etc.) and money amongst the C.D.O.s.

It is the recognition of the intimate relationship between "productive" and "consumptive" activities that leads us to suggest that the Skid Row economic system operates virtually at a "subsistence" standard. For those C.D.O.s who came from depriving socio-economic backgrounds, this style of living from hand to mouth may not be so very different, in terms of levels of poverty, from that to which they were early socialized.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have considered the economic aspects of the career of the chronic drunkenness offender in terms of three phases: preparation for work including both regional and family socioeconomic background and formal education; employment history prior to entrance into the C.D.O. way of life; and current economic activities (both productive and consumptive) on Skid Row. We have interpreted our findings with reference to a conceptual framework, derived from the writings primarily of Merton, Cloward and Ohlin, and Jessor et al., which locates the source of deviant behavior in the social structural factors of limited access to achievement in the legitimate economic system, and simultaneously in the social-psychological area of the individual's perception of his opportunities for advancement in both legitimate and illegitimate channels. Merton and others have suggested that problem drinking may be a "retreatist" response to a perceived discrepancy between the success goals that are valued in our North American society and the individual's own capabilities, as dictated by his position in the social structure of that society.

Looking first at the background factors of the C.D.O.s' histories, we find that the majority of these men were born in Canada, as were their fathers before them, but that a disproportionate number came from the relatively depressed region of the Maritime provinces and from the non-urban areas of Ontario. We interpreted these findings to suggest that the C.D.O.s were somewhat unprepared for work in urban-industrial Toronto where they have ended up on Skid Row.

That the C.D.O.s tend to come from relatively depriving socioeconomic backgrounds is indicated from the finding that their fathers were over-represented at the lower end of the occupational scale, particularly in the somewhat "dispossessed" occupations of craftsman and farmer. Moreover, low rank was even more predominant among C.D.O.s who had come from small non-urban communities, especially in the Maritimes. Other background features suggest that these men tend to have come from "traditional" families: namely, large family size and a family economic

situation approximating subsistence in that the father's cash income was low although the family's standard of living was augmented by raising some of their own food. We have interpreted these findings in the light of Tilly and Brown's hypothesis that migrants to the city are more likely to experience problems of adjustment to the urban way of life when they come from relatively low ranking families and non-urban community origins.

Features of the C.D.O.s' preparation for employment suggest that these men were not well equipped for economic advancement in modern urban industrial society, partly because the normative standards of their immediate families and communities of origin were not conducive to their pursuing formal education. Not only was the level of education of the C.D.O.s lower than that for the general adult male population of Canada, but also these men were more likely to have dropped out of school before completing their year or course. It is not clear whether social or psychological factors were pre-eminent in this regard, since most of the men claim to have left school in order to work despite the fact that few attribute this course of action to economic necessity. There is evidence, however, that where the parents had expressed concrete occupational aspirations for their sons, the C.D.O.s tended to remain longer in school. Here again we find evidence of a disjunction between the urban standards of achievement and those of the subculture in which these men were raised. One of the most notable findings in this area is that the youngest men in the sample had the lowest levels of education in spite of the obvious secular trend toward a general elevation of educational accomplishment in the country as a whole.

Education proved to be a significant factor in predicting time of entry into the chronic drunkenness offender pattern, especially for the younger men in the sample. Parsons, Merton and others have pointed out that in our modern industrial society, formal education is the accepted route of achievement. Hence, we have interpreted the Skid Row drunkenness of the C.D.O.s in terms of their having had limited access to these formal and legitimate channels to success.

Due largely to the early age at which formal education was terminated, the C.D.O.s tended to begin fulltime employment rather young, but perhaps no sooner than normal for their socioeconomic class. And, correspondingly, the younger they began to work, the lower

the level of their first jobs. Again we find however, that the younger men in the sample were most acutely disadvantaged in this respect.

The social mobility patterns of the C.D.O. are somewhat complex, but it is important to state at the outset that, by selecting the men for the sample on the basis of the criterion of repeated arrest for chronic drunkenness, we have "built in" the conclusion that the last phase of their careers is characterized by downward mobility. Nevertheless, the C.D.O.s were significantly under-represented, for their highest occupations achieved, in the higher occupational categories and significantly over-represented in the low ranking occupations, such as unskilled labour, as compared with the Canadian adult male population and also with a sample of Toronto clinic alcoholics. Moreover, the youngest men in the group tend to be the most unsuccessful in this regard. Although about one third of the sample reached a slightly higher occupational level than their fathers, even this accomplishment was generally inferior to that of their sibs.

Looking at the C.D.O.s' mobility patterns from the point of reference of their own first fulltime jobs, we find that those men who had begun to work at a higher occupational level had achieved more upward mobility prior to their economic demise, but, here again, only about one-third displayed any upward mobility at all and another third had actually been almost continuously downwardly mobile.

The employment careers of the C.D.O.s in general appear to have been quite unstable, especially for the men in low ranking occupations and the youngest men in the sample, who tended to have become downwardly mobile at an early point in their employment histories. Instability, measured in terms of duration of job tenure and frequency of periods of unemployment, is found to be related to time of onset of heavy drinking and also to age at first arrest for public drunkenness. In addition, unsteadiness in employment is related to marital instability, social insecurity (i.e. lack of ownership of property or insurance) and also to geographic mobility, which often takes the form of casual and seasonal labour, frequently in the all-male work settings of primary industries in non-urban areas.

One of the more interesting findings in our study is that the C.D.O.s highest occupation seems to have been

his most unstabilizing employment position, since it was during this job that loss of control over drinking, first arrest for drunkenness, and onset of relatively permament downward mobility most frequently occurred. Again, this syndrome began earlier for the younger and less educated men in the sample.

Broadly speaking, four general patterns of mobility have been delineated for the sample of chronic drunkenness offenders we investigated. The first of these is the 'early deviant' pattern of the men (usually the younger men in the group) who began to engage in delinquent or criminal activities at an early age, never really established a stable legitimate employment career, and consequently entered the phase of chronic drunkenness offences and downward mobility at an early age as well. This pattern was displayed especially by men who grew up in the Maritime provinces but also by those who had been raised in relatively depriving situations in urban areas, such as the lower class districts of Toronto and Montreal.

The second pattern is that of the 'early non-deviants', who tend to have come from non-urban regions of Ontario and whose problem drinking was preceded by some legitimate but generally unstable or unsuccessful employment. These men, once again, tend to be among the younger entrants into the C.D.O. pattern.

Thirdly, we observed the pattern of the 'late deviant', which comes closest to Cloward and Ohlin's deviant type, the "double failure". These men had had an early history of crime and delinquency, but had not encountered difficulty with drinking until relatively late in their careers. As is the case for the 'early deviants', these C.D.O.s are more likely to have been raised in lower class districts of large cities, where they would have had access to illegitimate opportunities and deviant subcultures during their youth.

And finally, the 'late non-deviant' pattern is perhaps the most baffling of all, since it characterizes those men, usually among the older C.D.O.s in the sample, who appear to have had relatively stable and even successful employment records throughout the best part of their work histories, but who experienced a rather pronounced decline in position

at a time closely related to the onset of problem drinking. Like the 'early non-deviants', these men tend to have come from parts of Ontario other than Toronto but also to have had, comparatively speaking, comfortable family backgrounds and adequate formal education, with little or no evidence of illegal activities prior to their involvement in Skid Row.

There is no clear indication from the data as to whether problem drinking was either a cause or a consequence of the downward mobility of the C.D.O.s in our sample, although the majority of the men did report that their heavy drinking had begun prior to the onset of chronic unemployment. We can assert with considerable confidence however, that the point at which the individual's primary attentions became focussed on drinking rather than employment marks an important milestone on the road to Skid Row. Since the mean age of the men in our sample is 45 years, we can conclude that chronic drunkenness offenders are characterized by a relatively brief and unstable phase of productive employment.

Although their present economic activities are primarily consumptive, some chronic drunkenness offenders do work, however irregularly, and all must find some means of supporting themselves.

The legitimate employment engaged in by C.D.O.s consists mainly of casual, seasonal or unskilled day labour, which is obtained through the National Employment Service, canvassing, institutional referrals, Skid Row contacts, or the curb labour market. Once again, as in the employment backgrounds of the C.D.O.s, we find that there is a discrepancy, consistent with the Mertonian interpretation, between the occupational aspirations expressed by these men and the work that they are actually able to find. Moreover, the C.D.O.s were receiving wages considerably below the market value of the work they perform.

The factors which chiefly determine whether a chronic drunkenness offender currently works were found to be youth, physical fitness, and short duration of heavy drinking; and, correspondingly, the C.D.O. who worked occasionally was found to be a better prospect for rehabilitation than was the non-worker. None of the background features of the C.D.O.s were significantly related to whether or not these men worked, but there is evidence to suggest that the more integrated a C.D.O. was into the Skid Row way of life, and, accordingly, the more

alienated he was from non-Skid Row family and friends, the less likely he was to have worked following his last release from custody. Strangely enough, we found that although some of the men were known to be regular and reliable workers while in jail, there appeared to be no relationship between whether a C.D.O. worked in jail and whether he worked on the 'outside'.

There is a rather complex relationship between the productive and the consumptive activities of Skid Row C.D.O.s. The longer a man is on Skid Row and engaging in the pattern of chronic drunkenness, the less likely he is to work and the more likely he is to do his drinking with Skid Row companions rather than work associates. The men in our sample tended to be ambivalent about the reasons for their unemployment and heavy drinking, often engaging in rather circular reasoning about the relationship between working and drinking.

Usually, these men are unable or unwilling to find and keep a regular job when they are drinking excessively, and yet they need money in order to continue drinking. Hence, we found that illegal activities were an important source of funds for many chronic drunkenness offenders. Begging was the most frequent means of securing a livelihood for the men in our sample, with peddling a disguised version of this practice as well. We also discovered, however, that several of the men engaged in other gainful criminal activities, such as petty theft and minor fraud, and moreover that alcohol seems to have played a significant part in these crimes, both as a motivation to seek funds and as a disinhibitor for the performance of this "innovative" deviant behaviour.

Apart from illegal activities, a subgroup of the C.D.O.s who were eligible for pensions (Old Age Security, D.V.A., Disability) and Public Welfare benefits derived a large portion of their incomes from these sources. These men tended to be among the older and/or less physically fit members of the sample, and hence they were found to be rather poor prospects for rehabilitation. Missions and charities as well as private donors of handouts or "loans" (which neither party expects to be repaid) are also occasional sources of financial support.

One of the most interesting features of the economic system of Skid Row drunks is the symbiosis which is based upon a well-understood norm of reciprocity. A C.D.O. who is working is expected to provide funds for the alcohol for his group of companions as long as the money holds out. Similarly, those C.D.O.s who habitually engage in begging will take over the responsibility for obtaining enough money to supply the group with wine for a short period of time and so on for each member of the 'bottle gang'. The "productive" activities of the C.D.O.s thus seem to revolve largely around the short-term goal of "piecing the price" of alcohol. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to suggest that a division of labour in the usual sense existed between the C.D.O.s who work, those who steal, those who beg, etc., for most of the men engage in all of these activities at some time or other, and the kinds of gainful activities (legal or illegal) that an individual undertakes seem to be determined more by his perception of an opportunity and his desire for alcohol than by his specialized skill in a particular area of productive activity.

APPENDIX I

We composed a rehabilitation typology consisting of 5 items on which the men were scored on a 3-point scale (good, fair, and poor).

The items thought to be useful in assessing the chances of successful rehabilitation were age, physical and mental condition, and length of integration into Skid Row.

REHABILITATION TYPOLOGY INDEX

Items	Prognosis		
	Good	Fair	Poor
Age	Under 50	50-60	Over 60
Mentally deficient or psychotic	No	Borderline	Yes
Central nervous system damage	No	No	Yes
Physical fitness	Able to do Heavy Labour	Able to do Light Work	Unfit for Work
Skid Row integration	Integrated less than 10 years	10-20	Integrated over 20 years

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